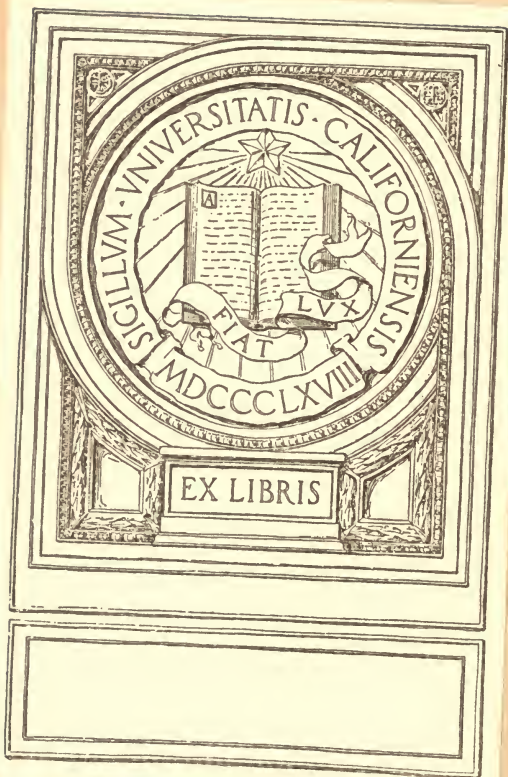


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THE
SECOND CRISIS

OF

AMERICA,

OR

A CURSORY VIEW OF THE PEACE

LATELY CONCLUDED BETWEEN

**GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED
STATES,**

Examining the manner this event will operate on the Commerce of America. In what manner it is likely to produce benefits or evils to Merchants, Manufacturers, Agriculturists, and Distillers; in what manner it will affect the Tonnage interest, and embracing generally the various influence it may have on the destinies of the United States in their future connexions, Political and Commercial, with the rest of the civilized world; together with some remarks and opinions relative to that extraordinary event which has astonished the world, the return of Napoleon to the throne of France.

BY A CITIZEN OF PHILADELPHIA:

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THE SECOND CRISIS.

CHAPTER I.

State of War and Peace—Declaration of War—Ratification of Peace—The Crisis War produced—The necessity of the measure and its results—Reference to the Amendment of the Militia System—Inquiry into the causes which induced England to accede to Peace, &c.

THERE is no event in the occurrences of times more important to nations than the transition from peace to the turbid scenes of war; or the recurrence from the struggles and deprivations attendant on that state, to the calm tranquillity of those visions of social comfort which peace generally invites. In the latter case, the soldier resigns his sword for the more genial instrument of art and industry—Relinquishes the discipline of camps and arduous marches to guide the plow on his native hills, or mix in the busy hum of cities. And the man who knit his brow, and felt the forces of his soul hardened to deeds of death and carnage, returns to the bosom of his family with smiles beaming on his countenance, and the milk of humanity at his heart. Such are the interesting eras which have latterly occurred in the history of these states. On the 17th day of June, 1812, war was declared by America against England, in consequence of a series of insults and aggressions which the spirit of forbearance could no longer brook, when repeated and various struggles for redress had been found ineffectual; and on the 18th day of February, 1815, a peace was ratified and exchanged by the President, with our ancient enemy, upon the basis of a treaty which promises good faith, and an observance of equal rights.

To a nation, situated as was America, the recourse to hostilities with England, a power gigantic in arms, and wielding a maritime sceptre which had awed every other nation on the earth; whose resources of credit, and whose fiscal operations, under revolving centuries, were, in comparison to us, as millions are to units, was indeed a crisis; and the militation of a young and unprepared people, (for thirty years rocked in the cradle of peace) against a nation holding such imposing attitudes, was an epoch in our annals, sufficient to shake the nerves of even the inflexible patriot, whose bosom had never beat with any other throb more enthusiastic than the honour and prosperity of his country.

Three years have not yet elapsed before the calamities of war are at an end; and all the doubts and fears to which the contest gave birth, are dispersed by the happy return of peace, and the glorious results which have attended our virtuous and energetic struggle. To some cold-blooded politicians, perhaps, who keep the debts and credits of this war, with a mercantile accuracy, my assertion, that the nation has crowned itself with an immortal wreath of glory, may be disputed; it may be advanced that we have not conquered Canada, or that we have not gained an inch of territory;—but the accession of territory, or the occupation of Canada, was neither of them the cause which prompted us to unsheath the sword, or invoke the God of battles to our aid.

Our recourse to arms, was the last resort of an insulted nation, who had ineffectually endeavoured to avert the calamities of war by an appeal to justice, which was contemptuously and arrogantly denied her; and the honour and dignity of the country was implicated, if not branded with disgrace, had she refused any longer to appeal to that unhappy experiment, the desperate ultimatum of a wronged and forbearing people.

There is not that court or potentate in Europe, however despotic, who has not viewed our contest, with an interest rarely felt; and although jealous of our rising greatness, inimical to the ethics of the republican school, or wedded to the prejudices and abuses of ancient dynasties, there has been an enthusiasm excited in the breasts of princes incontestibly in our favour; and which, although it was secret as the grave, and lifted not a finger for our salvation or our cause, yet refrained from ever enlisting against us, or moving with the policy of our enemy.

Vainly should we endeavour to inquire, whether the fate of Poland, that brave unhappy nation, vibrated yet upon the sensibility of their nerves; and that the events which succeeded, and which shook the crowns and diadems of monarchs to the earth, had their weight in retrospection. True, however, it is, that like the gods of Homer, they held their scales in balance as by the fiat of Olympus, and the contest, fortunately, did not continue long enough to suffer their interest or their wishes to preponderate in either;—single-handed was the conflict, and Heaven be praised, so it ended!

The brilliant achievements of our infant navy on the lakes and ocean, live in too glowing colours in the bosom of my countrymen, to need a repetition. The affairs of Chippewa, of Erie, Plattsburg, Baltimore, and Orleans, are yet such evergreens of honor and renown on land, that it would be a reflection on my readers to recapitulate their glory, or rehearse those deeds of valour which are yet the uppermost themes of commendation; and which, while they excite the liveliest emotions of national patriotism, tend in a measure to sooth those bosoms, which have been rent with the severest anguish, by the casualties and disasters attendant on a state of war.

Peace is again restored us, and let those of our countrymen who yet show their ledger of losses, and groan over what they may term the waste of blood and treasure, console themselves with the reflection, that the nations of the earth who have looked with unbiassed eye upon the contest, will say we have preserved our liberty and nationality in it; and with one consent, will decide on the gallant victories of our arms; and the superiority which a brave and self-taught people, by the virtue of their cause, have obtained over a venal monarchy and an imperious foe. In brief, our character has been retrieved from ignominy, and instead of an insulted and pusillanimous people, we rank exalted in the opinion of the surrounding world and stand dignified in our own.

The steady patriotism of our yeomanry, having been tested throughout this contest, will adduce a striking lesson for future wars, when we may unhappily be visited by them; that a good and wholesome arrangement of the militia system, which shall teach to the hardy *freeman* the rudiments of the art of war, and which shall fit him in the day of peace, for the exigencies of all times and seasons, would be the safest and soundest policy our government could pursue.

Various militia systems have been adopted by all the states, and one and all of them, in the opinion of the writer defective. To enter into an analysis or discussion of this subject, would be too far to impede the progress of the present inquiries, and dilate the work beyond the narrow compass of a pamphlet; suffice it to say, that instead of the accustomed method of turning out and parading through dirty streets, with rusty arms, ragged coats, columns disproportioned, and squares that looked like triangles, as must be recent in the remembrance of those who witnessed our reviews in a day of security—that schools well appointed should be instituted, and certain drilling days should be regularly attended by the incipient, under the penalty of a fine to be rigidly exacted; that semi-annual reviews should be held with all the pomp and splendour of a national fête, and that instead of the ragged men of Falstaff, who formerly were wont to walk up and down a dirty city to save a fine, we should see a body of tacticians, well apparelled, well accoutred (although not in uniform) and who, while they should feel a pride themselves, will create applause in the beholder. To effect this, the state governments must not lean too much on economy. A suit of clothes per year ought at least to be the equivalent of the patriotic yeoman who devotes his hours of industry, to learn how to defend his country; fines well collected, and justly appropriated, would partly defray the expense, and the pride and honour of the state might well afford the other.

Before I enter further into the important views which the subject of this inquiry embraces, a question of some curiosity suggests itself, as to what has been the probable causes which have operated on Great Britain, to abandon that system of procrastination, which strongly marked each preceding feature of the negotiation with our ambassadors, and to accede with such *sudden* and *unlooked for* precipitancy to the formation of a Treaty which met the views of our ministers, and the instantaneous acceptance of the British regent; a Treaty which, without even touching upon any of the subjects of former conferences, confined itself merely to the preliminaries of justice and equity; two subjects which had never been disputed by America, and which, on any proposals, on the part of England, would have been inquired into and adjusted. Who is the prophetic seer of the nation that could have foretold such a finish to such a contest,

that the principle and leading features of a treaty of peace and amity with Britain, should rest on commissioners, duly appointed to run a Geographical line from the lakes in the woods, through different regions adjacent, to mark the middle boundary of territorial rights; a lake scarcely spoken of five years ago in either country, and even now obscurely known by the geographists and topographers of London.

The peculiar care manifested by the British ministers on this question of boundary, would seem to indicate that they persuaded themselves into a belief that the imperial flag of Great Britain was destined to wave for many centuries more on the American continent: hence we see so much caution and precision in several articles of the treaty, on territorial sovereignty.

In case of any dispute on this subject it is to be decided by some friendly European power, that is to say, the Emperor of Russia, or Austria, the king of Prussia, or any king, Bonaparte excepted, may, in the course of human events be honored with a title perhaps of equal weight and glory to any they or their ancestors ever enjoyed, no less than *Geographer General to his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America*, and although none of those sceptred mortals may estimate the real dignity attached to such a high calling, yet there are few of my readers who will not join me in opinion that the title in question reflects more honour on any of those monarchs, and has more real solidity attached to it, than the *Kingdom of Hanover* has given, by that title being annexed to the monarch of the British Isles.

I have a presentiment that we shall never be under the necessity of troubling any of the royal race in Europe on this subject; it is already decided by the laws of nature, and must ere long, be so by the political and progressive strength of our country. A nation speaking the same language, influenced by the same habits, with a population already of eight millions, and with a fair prospect of doubling that number in less than twenty years, is not likely to be plagued very long with questions relative to the rights of European sovereignty to any part of the American Continent.

Whether we shall dry fish on the coast of Labrador, or shoot bears beyond the present imperial boundary, we shall leave to our descendants to arrange some 30 or 50 years hence, but we shall carry to the tomb of the Capulets a full conviction that the treaty of

peace, recently concluded, is the last instrument that will be signed between Great Britain and the United States, respecting the territorial sovereignty of either on *this* Continent.

Had the conduct of England, as regarded the negotiations at Ghent, been of that character which carried with it the indications of good faith and a desire for pacification, the treaty would not now be a matter of surprise, nor have been so unexpected an event as it has proven—some causes, therefore, as yet behind the curtain, have operated on the ministry of England, to give up their wild pretensions of territorial aggrandizement in America, and spurred them to the termination of differences on just and honourable terms, at a moment when the war had assumed a most critical aspect.

The publication of the correspondence of the ministers at Ghent, by the American government, was calculated to produce great astonishment in the eyes of all Europe; the arrogant and ambitious pretensions of England bore a most striking contrast with the unsophisticated good faith prominent in all the conferences and correspondences of the American diplomatists, and had no doubt, its weight in altering both the tone and system of British negotiation. Those powers of Europe who were convened in the general congress at Vienna, for settling the rights of nations, and consolidating a peace among themselves, would no doubt, unhesitatingly express their dissatisfaction at the pretensions manifested by England in this political drama; as similar doctrines might, at a future and no distant day, be attempted to be imposed by England on themselves, and their silent acquiescence, as regarded the United States, be urged as a plea of justice against them.

The policy, therefore, of the publication of the dispatches from our ministers, however it may have galled England, was obvious as regarded ourselves. It spoke volumes at a glance and carried with it the weight of twenty manifestos. It was a clear development of facts and portrayed the character and cause of our hostilities, and the features England was inclined to give them; and further, it was putting the question to continental Europe, and testing whether they were inclined to yield to a principle of interested policy pursued by England against these states, and which once established became a precedent, which naturally enough, would hereafter be turned against themselves.

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It is not impossible that England might also have foreseen the probability of that miraculous event which has astonished both hemispheres. She, no doubt, well knew the sentiment of the military of France, and their devotion to that chief who had so often led them to victory, and who never suffered skill or courage in the field to pass unnoticed or unrewarded. And although she might not have calculated on so sudden an explosion, or that the bold attempt of Napoleon in resuming sovereignty, would have been attended with unopposed success; yet she might have seen sufficient to have demonstrated to her the necessity of concentrating her forces at home, and to be prepared for any changes which the continent of Europe might display.

If any cause yet stronger than the public exposure of the pretensions of England, has operated on her to conclude this peace, I am inclined to believe that it is the situation of the Peninsula of Spain, and the distracted state of those important colonies of that monarchy in South America. England has for years past enjoyed the treasures of those exhaustless mines, with which the unhappy and enslaved Americans, have been cursed. The day of slavery is however fast dissipating—the shackled descendants of the Incas have burst their chains, and a new and great empire is about to astonish the world. What part England will take in the momentous drama is yet to be discovered, one part she assuredly will, and there is one part which it materially behoves the United States to take; that is, to aid in unloosing the fetters of a galled and gallant people. Policy dictates it; the INJURIES we have received from European Spain demand ample compensation, and warrant any measures. The claims which American citizens have on the Spanish monarchy would be more than sufficient purchase money for the Spanish Floridas, and if she will neither sell them or cede them, or refund her robberies, I see nothing to prevent our taking them *vi et armis*. I return to my subject—that England has long meditated deeply on the situation of Mexico, various testimonies might prove, and that this may have had a considerable *impetus* in closing the contest with the United States, in order to be ready to engage in one more profitable, at the first favourable moment, I am also disposed to credit, and also that the blow against Spain, or against her possessions, is now prosecuting and will be struck by England on the

first politic opening, and however singular it may appear, it may yet be possible and probable, that England for once may range herself on the side of justice and the rights of man, and for a promised remuneration (perhaps) of certain provinces of this vast continent, engage to emancipate a nation from bondage. That these causes, and others, which are too carefully screened in the cabinets of Europe to be read with accuracy on this side of the Atlantic, have had their weight in producing this wonderful change in the pretensions of England as regards these states, the lapse of a very little time will place beyond contradiction or doubt; *ad interim*, however, should these be rejected as visionary, speculative, or as far fetched surmises by any of my inquiring readers, there is another cause well suited to the *armor propria* of the patriotic American, which might not perhaps suit the palates of the purlieus of St. James's, but would not be unsavory to ourselves. This cause, which modesty might forbid us to dilate on, or even refer to, is neither more or less than that England, tired with the repeated discomfitures she met on land, on lake and ocean, wherever she came in contact with our forces, (hitherto so despised and held in contempt,) began to consider that should the same series of success continue to attend the arms of America, she might find in a few months longer extension of the contest, all her Spanish laurels, in the yellow leaf; and that her proudest boast, and vaunted prerogative of supremacy on the ocean, earned by slow and progressive measures, at the price of more money and blood than her islands contain, might be rendered nugatory: and instead, as hitherto, the dread of surrounding states, by the despotic power of her floating engines of blockade and contribution, she had forfeited her imposing character in the estimation of spectators, by her *losing* although unequal contest with a nation, who, at the commencement did not possess one hundredth part of her naval armament—and who had already cruised victoriously and with prosperity in the *English* channel, and who had rode triumphantly in that called St. George's, laying their sea-ports in a state of blockade or contribution. Whether my readers will allow weight to this last cause assigned, will depend on their own view of the subject.—One thing, however, has fact to corroborate it, that insurance across the Irish channel, had risen from 1-2 per cent. the usual rate, to 6 per cent. making eleven additional premiums. And had the war continued

12 months longer, and our national cruisers, expressly equipped for sailing, reached their intended destinations, the 6 per centum might have quadrupled itself, and the whole navy of England would not have been sufficient to protect her from an American blockade.

The list of British vessels captured, burnt and destroyed by our cruisers, as well private as national, does not rest on our own assertions, they are recorded at Lloyd's, and whether we view the number, or the enterprise, and valour displayed by our countrymen in effecting this extended scene of capture and destruction, we have the satisfaction to know they are without parallel in naval warfare. Hitherto the world had attached no ordinary degree of stigma to the pursuit of privateering, and cupidity was deemed the sole motive to those who engaged therein, but it was reserved for the United States to develope the fact, that a love of gain was not the premordial consideration of American cruisers, whether private, or national. *Amor Patria*, gallantry, and humanity have distinguished the conduct of our officers and seamen, in all their rencounters with the enemy.

British cruisers had been so accustomed to carry the private armed vessels of their enemies, whether in equal fight, or by gallantly attacking them with boats, that they did not anticipate any new or extraordinary species of resistance from us; but to their surprise and mortification, they have not only been foiled, but beaten in almost every attempt they made on the ocean or in the harbours, against our vessels.

The attack on the privateer Neuschatel by the boats of the frigate Endymion, and the attack of the General Armstrong by an immense number of boats from a British squadron in the harbour of Fayal, have given a demonstration of American enthusiasm and valour, fatal to the glory, the discipline and tactics of the British navy; and in my humble opinion, these, and an infinite number of similar instances that had occurred, taught the British ministry to anticipate the direful consequences of protracting a war, where every day seemed to add to the glory of their enemy, and to augment his means of annoying and destroying the commerce of Great Britain.

Thus, at the moment that they supposed Orleans in their possession, and that such was their expectation, the speech of the Regent from the throne proclaims, when he says, that he hopes to finish the contest with America, with glory to the English arms,—at this mo-

ment do they propose a peace on those terms of equal justice for which alone we contended, and which we had repeatedly offered to treat upon before ; and not waiting even for the news of the occupation of Orleans by the British troops, they conclude a treaty of peace, which, in the same faith, these states have always manifested, was ratified as soon as it was received.

Waving all further consideration of what were the motives which induced Great Britain to the hasty adoption of this measure, when all denoted more extensive preparations, and the most hostile front ; I shall only express this, my opinion, that neither a sense of honour or equity, or a just appreciation of the rights of nations had any thing to do with her decision. These are considerations which are as a dead letter in the eyes of those disciples of Machiavel, who direct the policy of that nation ;—and here I beg leave to state, that whatever may be my opinion of the conduct of the British government either past, present or future, it has not, and I trust, never will eradicate from my mind, a regard and respect for the individual character of British subjects—as such, we view them analogous to ourselves in habits, in feelings, as well as in language ; but it is against a government whose acts have been uniformly hostile to our republic, that we have directed our remarks, and shall continue so to do, until a change of policy or measures on the part of the government of Great Britain. shall convince us of the sincerity of her frequent professions to cultivate a good understanding, and to preserve a lasting peace with the United States.

CHAPTER II.

Commerce considered in a day of Peace—America the general carrier in the time of European war—The jealousy of England—Its consequences—The effect Peace will have on our Shipping and Tonnage interest—Its effect on Agriculture—the culture of Grain considered—Digression on the agriculture of South America,—Cultivation of articles of foreign Growth not yet introduced generally in America considered ; such as the Vine, Olive Tree, Gum Tree, &c. The adventure and experiment which distinguishes America—Distillation in a day of Peace, and Manufactures considered.

The phrases, Peace and Plenty, Peace, Commerce and Prosperity, have been so often hacknied and toasted, and drank in flowing cups, that it may create a little astonishment in the minds of the strongest opponents to the late war, that COMMERCE on the return of PEACE, instead of being attended with its expected concomitant PROSPERITY, should be narrowed and confined within a more limited circle, that its profits should be reduced to the lowest grade of percentage, and that instead of the cornucopia of abundance, which in our late trade was the result of the general war in Europe, we shall find it harder to gain a dollar on the ocean, than we did to gain ten, when fortune made us the carriers of the world.

This has, in a measure, already exemplified itself, by the doubt and hesitation which has marked every commercial movement since the cessation of hostilities ; and if, on the very outset of our pacific career, this truth has already developed itself, when a reciprocal interchange of various articles interdicted in a state of war, invited a certain portion of commerce ; how much more forcibly would it display itself, when that interchange, so long denied to nations and ourselves, was satisfied and became limited merely to that supply necessary for annual consumption.

Although Europe be at this moment in a very unsettled condition, and the return of Bonaparte, as well as her opposing interests, lean towards involving her again in hostilities before many months,

yet wisdom dictates, that uncertain events should never be relied on, and it behoves us not only to look to the actual state of affairs, as they now stand, but to be ready to receive with an open palm the favor of either chance or fortune, or be equally ready to oppose adversity, should she approach, by the maxims of the goddess Minerva in *practice*. Should peace yet be maintained in Europe, and it is more natural to look towards this event than to calculate on an eternal system of warfare,* our commerce must consequently be confined to those articles of necessity, the natural growth of these states, which may not be the productions of Europe, or cultivated at least in a *minim* proportion to their wants; and our system of exchange of articles must be solely limited to those which may be necessary for our own consumption, whether in the crude state, or that of manufacture.—

The commerce of America, from the year 1793, until the late conclusion of the European peace, was profitable beyond any calculation in record. The powers of Europe, militating one against the other, combatting one year in the cause of France, and the next on the side of England; each drawn progressively, for their own momentary salvation, into the contest, completely overturned the whole commercial economy as well as the productive industry of continental Europe. Their states and their kingdoms, from the prince who reigned to the meanest peasant, were thrown into distraction and confusion—the stimulus to industry or agriculture was no more. The fields the farmer plowed, the grain he sowed, and the harvest he hoped to reap, were no longer in existence—the enemy might come—was coming—and would arrive—and what avail is industry, when it is to be the prey for pillage? where is the stimulus for labour but in gain? Such were the woful reflections, of many an honest husbandman on both sides of the political arena. What then was more natural, than America, by the general necessity becoming the carrier of nearly all the christian world? England alone among all the nations in the map of Europe, who held a name or

* And even the restoration of Napoleon, although it at present bears the most menacing front, may nevertheless lead to this event, and even in fixing the repose of Europe on a more solid basis, either by his death, or by his being made a party in the general congress, neither of which events are out of the line of probability.

consequence, maintained any commerce. By the influence of her navy she was able to sustain her trade with her colonies; yet even in this commerce she was obliged to maintain it by an expense unknown and unfelt by the United States at that period. The immense expenditure, which the support of a navy like that of England must occasion, will be well understood without a comment, and the enviable situation, in which the United States enjoyed the freedom of the ocean and the commerce of the world, will be also comprehended without any illustration.

This, and this alone it was, which excited the jealousy and envy of England, which produced the capture of our vessels bound to France in 1793 to 1796, which led to those orders of council in England condemning the trading of vessels from one port to another of a different nation, (known under the general term of *trading voyages*,) and obliging the vessel to clear from, and return to, her native port.—It was this, which next produced the strict examination of the rôle d'équipage, ultimately producing the late obnoxious orders in council which eventuated in war.

[That England should be jealous of the rising greatness of America and her distended commerce, was a necessary result of her policy, but in the moral spirit of justice, professed by civilians, she had no more right to make manifest that jealousy by oppression, than any other power—nor indeed so much,—as she integrally maintained her commerce, while the nations of Europe were without its benefits, and dependent on America and herself for their supplies / besides, as the war belonged as much to England as to France, or was rather kept alive by her policy, and was maintained more for the preservation of that monopoly which has made her a power of consequence among nations, than for any conquests or aggrandizements which France might meditate ; she had less reason for complaint against the temporary good fortune of the United States of America than any other power.]—France, during the last four years of war, introduced the hostile decrees of Berlin and Milan; but without entering into the stale discussion, of whether the last orders in council, or these had priority; none who consider this great question dispassionately, will deny, that the repeated captures and acts of aggression of England, led France to those retaliating measures, denominated the continental system; which, while they materially affected our security, and

amounted to an infringement of our rights, aimed all the energy of their resentment against England. The edict which indiscriminately doomed to conflagration every article manufactured in England, or the growth of her colonies, was a link of the same chain, adopted *lege talionis*, against the legislative code of England. These retaliatory acts of the two nations manifested a rancour rarely before seen, and threatened a war of extermination. Their standards might have floated to the winds of heaven on either side with the words *ad internicionem*, stamped in the largest characters, without creating a sentiment of surprise; and all states and governments were taught by their conflicting foes, that any of their subjects were implicated and sacrificed without remorse, who aided, however indirectly, the views of either.

✠ England closed the whole continent of Europe by decrees and statutes, which the unrestrained and adventurous spirit of Fredonians would have laughed at—but so it was—the ports of Europe *were* closed, and the vast dominions of France were left without a ship or seaport of trade. Besides this, she was daily stabbing vitally her interests in manufacture, (the only traffic of industry left her,) by introducing under a thousand disguises, the manufactures of herself, and her Indian possessions. From these causes, France availing herself of her power, drew that extended circle of prohibition which, while it fostered her internal commerce, aimed a death blow against the designs, as well as the revenue of England. }

Apologising for a digression, which in general course, I trust may not be deemed irrelevant, I return to my subject. In what manner will this return of peace affect our commerce? As we have before said, provided continental Europe be at peace, the commerce of America, must be very limited; and it is much to be dreaded, that before this *fact* is experimentally displayed to our adventurers, that great mischief will individually befall them. It was within a few years back remarked, by many a navigator, that sail where you would, there was no nook, no port so small, but he found the flag of America before him. The scene may now be changed, these states may no longer be the universal carrier, and the stars of our national flag may not, for some time, be seen triumphantly waving with the incalculable gains of a distorted commerce. Europe at peace, we are on a footing with all other commercial nations, England excepted, who main-

tains a superiority by possessing more colonies than any other power, regulating and limiting their trade according to their will or interest, at the same time, interdicting the United States from *any* trade, which might be *beneficial*, and admitting only such articles as she cannot herself supply.

This leads us naturally to inquire into what effect it will have upon our shipping, and whether it will tend to their increase or diminution, and my opinion, unhesitatingly is, that it will operate toward the immediate decrease of our commercial tonnage, and that too, in a very severe degree, without salutary measures are used to prevent it.

Where traffic is precarious, and its profits few; where a nation only enjoys that reduced commerce, admitting solely of interchange of its overplus productions, on a limited scale, for articles of a foreign growth or fabric, which may suit its consumption or habits, there can exist but little excitement to adventure. Egregiously shall those be mistaken who consider that the dashing merchants of these states will, as heretofore, be the money-making men. The present system will return to that of the old plodding times of pounds, shillings, and pence. The ledger, and profit and loss account will require a careful circumspection, and to be narrowly attended to in all foreign traffic. A very moderate profit abroad will leave a minimum profit on return after paying freight and various charges, and the regular percentage on imports, will nett but little on their sales after paying outward and inward duties.

That spirit which looked upon a ship as a prelude to a fortune, which considered a shipholder as the monopolizer of gains, will feel a shock which will prostrate all the hopes and calculations of the inexperienced or too sanguine adventurer. An apathetic indifference will naturally succeed to this dangerous enthusiasm. And those who meditated alone on the ocean as being the paternal protector of their fortunes, will have the current of their feelings changed, and will look to their maternal earth and native soil, with patient and well-regulated industry for a moderate support.

With no more ports to trade with than before the war of 1793, of what use will now be our extensive forests of shipping? At that epoch, only 2 Indiamen sailed out of Philadelphia, and I shall not be found very incorrect in the assertion, that not more than 7 or 8

sailed from all the ports of the United States. Our increase of population may, perhaps, warrant a double trade with foreign possessions, and a double importation, but further than this we cannot look with safety for profit or success, and unless our exportations keep an equal pace with our imports, the balance of trade will be injurious.

The different maritime powers of Europe are in want of shipping, and the overplus of our tonnage will naturally find foreign owners, and, as we can, upon a general scale, build vessels at a cheaper rate than most of the nations of Europe, one species of our industry will meet a recompense in becoming ship-builders instead of ship-owners.

Dismissing this subject without further remark, we have now to inquire in what manner peace will affect agriculture, manufactures, and distillation.

In the first consists the natural, unalienable, and progressive strength of the nation; governed and fostered by the omnipotent mercies of Providence, by the genial return of seasons, and brought to maturity and abundance by the hand of art and industry.—Throughout our distended continent agriculture is the vivifying and all-important branch of labour on which the happiness or misery of the community depends. During war, however, there is as much speculation and hazard attendant on this employment as on others; it thus frequently happens, that farmers become rapidly rich or poor; are superabundantly paid for their labour, and their land, or dwindle and become distressed for want of an adequate price for those commodities on which they have bestowed both time and toil. The speculator on paper, in stocks, or any other ideal representative of property is not more liable to the chances of profit and loss than the farmer in the unsettled times of war. A fluctuation of 20 to 50 per cent, either in the rise or fall of an article, is oftentimes witnessed within six months, and although, generally speaking, the farmers throughout these states have been more fortunate than otherwise, during our contest, and the few years preceeding it—yet some have met equal adversity with the merchant or any other occupation.

The day of peace produces a general level with agriculturists in the same ratio that it does with commerce. That extraordinary,

and at times, unaccountable rise and depression of articles of our internal growth is no more to be looked for than the rise and depression of a yard of broadcloth. The farmer, therefore, who would calculate his gains in receiving 10 or 12 dollars per barrel, for his flour, must take into consideration his loss if he realizes but 3 or 4.

The real value of a barrel of flour, in times of peace, taking it in an aggregate and comparative view, can never be more than 6 dollars. In the months succeeding harvest, and when the greatest abundance is in market, it will not command this price. France, from her being excluded from all external commerce, and not allowed to supply her colonies, even during the season of war, when that dreadful name *conscription* was on foot, seldom witnessed her flour to exceed 36 francs, or something less than seven dollars for the 200lb. In the year 1795 alone, owing to the horrors of the revolution and a failure in the crops, together with the starvation edicts of England, did it ever take an enormous rise? and the policy of the government soon checked this evil so pregnant with many others.

Whilst treating on this subject, it may be well to notice, that the period is not distant when South America and Mexico will likewise be important granaries; the reason this has not already taken place, arises not so much from limited population, as from the restrictions that Spain has for three centuries persevered in, against the settlement of foreigners in her dominions, from the barbarous and antisocial system of her political institutions, whose cardinal principle consisted in the *necessity* of keeping 17 millions of inhabitants, in this vast continent, in the lowest state of ignorance and misery, in order to swell the pomp, and nurture the disposition of a parcel of monks and mountebanks on a little peninsula of Europe.

The laws of nature and reason will no longer be violated in such an outrageous manner, as they have been for ages, on this beautiful continent; the bounties of a beneficent God will be, ere long, displayed throughout this hemisphere, and millions of unborn descendants of Europeans, as well as the offspring of the Incas, will bless the names of those who, in this century, have so largely contributed to the emancipation of the western world, from the feudal chains of Europe. But to return to my subject. I think it very pro-

bable, that in less than 30 years, South America and Mexico will be enabled to export immense quantities of grain.

Wheat grows in abundance in almost every part of this continent. Indian corn may be cultivated every where. The banks of the river Magdalena, as well as all the adjacent country, already yields a superabundance of rice. A few years ago there was scarcely sufficient raised for the consumption of the country; but since the people have declared themselves independent of Spain, and the new government have removed the shackles from commerce and agriculture, the change produced has been truly magical.

There are now above a hundred rice plantations, where there was one four years back. During the late war between the United States and Great Britain, many vessels of considerable tonnage were loaded with this article at Carthagena and on the coast, for Jamaica; it became so abundant that the price was as low as two, to two and a half dollars a hundred weight. The grain is equally, or, perhaps, more nutritious than our Carolina rice; it is not as well cleaned, but that circumstance will be remedied by the improvements that are rapidly finding their way to those countries. There is no doubt in my mind, that in a few years rice will rank among the exports of Carthagena, not only for the West Indies, but for the European markets; and there is likewise no doubt, that it can be raised in this part of New Grenada without many of the disadvantages attached to its culture in Carolina and Georgia.

The wheat that now comes down the river Magdalena, from a place called Ocana, in the interior, is equal in quality and flavour to the Barbary grain. The flour, at present made, is not quite as white as ours, but will be equally so, when proper attention is directed towards manufacturing it.

Tobacco and *cotton*, in all their various qualities, may be successfully cultivated in almost every part of these regions, and in fact, nature has so peculiarly endowed this part of the earth with all the varieties of *climate* and *soil*, that it not only yields indigenous articles, which no other part of the earth can ever rival, but is capable of producing whatever can be raised in either zone.

These remarks will, no doubt, have their due weight with many of my reflecting readers, and may teach our landed proprietors to reflect, that neither they nor their heirs are to calculate on the Unit-

ed States being, as they have hitherto been, the unrivalled granary of the universe.

The agriculturist, in a time of peace, must, therefore, look more to the wants of the community at home than to those abroad. Our southern planters of rice, cotton, and tobacco will, no doubt, enjoy the great benefit of a foreign market; but as all those articles are the growth of foreign countries, they must not calculate on the exclusive supply of them; but that their prices will be governed by the same limitation which extends to every other article the produce of the earth.

The cultivation of various articles, some of which we yet import from abroad, and others of too limited a culture, will be found to be attended with more profit to the farmer than many others hitherto considered of the first importance—such as woad, an article easily raised and of great value in dying. The olive tree, which has already been known to thrive in our climate, and if I am not mistaken, has been cultivated by our president, Jefferson, is another article, opening a wide field, which would well repay its first cultivators. Mustard seed is an article which reflects a shame on our agriculturists, that it is not produced in abundance among us. This article sold for two dollars and even three dollars per pound during the war, which might give a great profit to the cultivator at 50 cents, or indeed, one half that price. Ginseng, a plant indigenous to our soil, has not sufficient attention; ten times the quantity might meet a good market that is now raised. The Spanish tobacco plant, the seed of which can easily be imported from Cuba, would yield considerable profit to those whose lands were genial to its cultivation. In this article the agriculturist should be particularly careful in his choice of land, in which he may make his essay, and should inform himself well on this subject, in which there is no difficulty to insure success in his project. Hops, senna, ginger, turmeric, rhubarb, and many other articles of inferior grades and value might be mentioned, which would suit our soil and various climate.

The cultivation of the vine too, which hitherto, more from inattention to soil and climate, has, as yet, been unsuccessful, will one day bounteously repay the more prudent and successful cultivator. Doctor Logan, in a letter written from Stenton, in February, 1799, gives, in my opinion, some useful hints on this subject; he is

guided in his remarks, however, by the climate of France, in which he saw them cultivated. A due attention to the remarks made by Doctor Logan, and adapting them to the climate and soil in which this essay may be made, will most likely be attended with success. The gum tree, a native of Africa, known better by the general term Senegal gum, and which is used in almost all manufactures of linen and cotton, by hatters, and also by apothecaries, under the name of gum arabic, might be successfully transplanted from that country, and thousands of acres of our land in Georgia, Florida, and West Louisiana, unproductive at present to their holders, (many of them barren sands,) might, in the course of a few years, without any labour, (for the tree requires none,) become flourishing forests of this valuable thorn, producing mines of wealth from this exotic gum; the value of which has been so highly estimated, that the nation, whether France or England, who had possession of the colony of Senegal, always debarred the world from any interference in her monopoly of this article. The only exception to this general principle was, while France, unable to assist her colonies, threw them open to neutral commerce. This tree, which grows to the height of 10 to 15 feet, if planted for the purpose of hedges, might be made beneficial in a double manner, forming a safe barrier to all inclosures, and yielding at the same time a revenue to the possessor. Should there be any impediment in procuring this from Senegal, England now holding possession of St. Louis, and preserving her monopoly by interdicting all trade but her own, it may be found in abundance on the Atlantic coast of Barbary, although it does not flourish to the extent to yield the exportation of its gum. These are not Utopian ideas. Experience has proved, by the introduction and growth of the cotton plant within a few years in the southern states, as well as the sugar cane, the genial properties of our soil and climate; and the extent of those advantages a Benevolent Deity has yet in store, for the industry and enterprise of the citizens of this favoured region.

Many other articles of foreign growth, as yet unknown and uncultivated among us, may strike the imagination of the reader and researcher, which might be of equal importance to attend to; those already mentioned, however, are sufficient to demonstrate, that we have not yet paid all that attention to enriching our soil, or reaping

from it all those bounties with which the beneficent hand of the Creator has so liberally visited the earth.

In a state of civil society, to what other object than wealth is the toil of man directed. The wisest man may be said to work the least, as he employs himself on those objects which may be the most productive, and yield him the highest price for his labour. The nearest road to wealth is the one generally sought for, though thousands miss the track. Those who pursue the beaten foot-way of their ancestors, and are never induced to swerve from it, however alluring the prospect, may rank perhaps, among the most prudent and unambitious. They enjoy a dull monotony, and their slumbers are never disturbed by doubts or enlivened by the imagery of hope—they have nothing to gain or lose in the great lottery of fortune. To such men an innovation or experiment is as the forbidden fruit, one which, as their forefathers never tasted, they maintain the same self denial. However secure this wary prudence may make such men, unhappy for the world would it be, did such a general apathy prevail. Where, alas! would be the arts and sciences, the refinements and improvements, and those useful discoveries, which adorn the history of revolving years and ameliorate the condition of mankind? Soon, indeed, would they vanish from our sight buried in the gloom of gothic ignorance. But, fortunately for the world, these are the smallest portion of society. The majority, and particularly in this country, possess an ardent spirit for adventure and experiment; an enthusiasm for improvement and discovery by no means general throughout Europe. It is this which has given us a tide of prosperity in commerce, unexperienced in the history of the world—it is this which has stimulated us as inhabitants of a vast and free region, not only to dive into the mysteries of foreign commerce, but to extract from it all that is valuable to ourselves. The improvements of Europe, and its refinements, rose from a state of barbarism and villanage progressively, and varied the scene from savage to social life by slow gradations. The states of America were ushered into existence under all the advantages of modern ethics and philosophy. From the date of the declaration of their independence, they may be said to have been born and nurtured under the first constellations of genius that ever illumined the world; the doctrines and tenets of a Newton and a Locke, a Volney and a Leland, were all under-

stood and investigated by a Rittenhouse and a Franklin, a Jefferson and a Hamilton; and in place of gradual steps to information, we had the arcana of Europe unveiled to us, thereby affording an opportunity to demonstrate the boldness and extent of native genius, when unencumbered by prejudice, and unrestrained by despotism.

To the enterprize and researches of a Fulton, do we owe the vast advantages which have been already derived, and are likely to progress to an unlimited extent, from the discovery of a proper and powerful application of steam, in impelling the "skarfed bark" through her liquid element, and directing her course with swiftness, in opposition to the winds of Heaven, and in defiance of counter currents. The new, the wonderful, and yet unthought-of advantages to which this great improvement may extend, is a fair field for reflecting genius to predicate both fortune and fame by its application to useful objects, and to the economy of time and labour. The historian of America shall with enthusiastic fervour dwell upon the memory of this liberal and enlightened citizen, and shall, in the general sentiment of his cotemporaries, deplore the irreparable loss the arts have suffered by the short duration of his earthly career. Had more extended years been allotted him by the fiat of Omnipotence, that masterly and energetic genius might have discovered still stronger traits, and have furnished even more brilliant facts to philosophy than those with which he has adorned it.

Reverting to my subject of the adventure, inherent in my countrymen, it strikes me that the same wisdom and researches which unfolded riches to their view in traversing the ocean, will now be directed to their pursuits on land.

The same spirit of industry in the establishments of landed properties, with productive incomes, may be looked for at home, which has within these last twenty years been directed abroad in foreign speculations. The careful culture of new and valuable plants, herbs, trees, &c. hitherto considered as exotics, will no doubt, interest more or less the genius of my countrymen—and should there not appear a sufficient enthusiasm excited, or doubts and dreads awakened, with regard to the success, which might or might not be their attendants, it would be a just and generous act of policy in the government, in the first instance, to establish nurseries and agricultural seminaries, until the general principles regarding their culture should be

well understood. SHEEP, particularly the MERINO breed, will require the fostering hand of government for their prosperous cultivation and increase. On, these however, I defer my remarks for another chapter.

In a general view, therefore, of the question whether the agricultural interest will be benefitted by the restoration of peace, in the present posture of affairs with the rest of the world, it is my opinion, that for the few occurring years, until some new channels for industry are opened, the labour of the farmer will be increased and his profits diminished. Enthusiastic, like all other callings and professions in life, the farmer will at once employ great labour to procure great crops, but he will be doomed to meet a sad reverse in his sales from what he has long been accustomed to receive. The treasonable and demoralized principle of furnishing flour and various articles of provision, to the enemy during a state of war, has been one great cause for the price which wheat has hitherto sustained. The cultivator of the earth will now discover that in the beaten track of his forefathers, small profits will furnish him a livelihood, but should he, in the day of general peace, look for the same emoluments which arose from the confusion of a general war, and the distractions of Europe, he will meet a woful disappointment.

A great source of wealth to many of our industrious inhabitants of the remote parts of the states of Pennsylvania, New-York, Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, has been produced by the fermentation of grains and fruits, under the operation of distillation. These liquors were disseminated throughout the union, were vended in large quantities in the commercial cities, and in them frequently underwent the operation of the liquor-vender or brewer; who, by the aid of certain drugs, by mixtures, &c. produced a liquor assimilated to those imported from abroad, and such as might suit the general demand, either for the consumption of the country or suitable for exportation. Vast quantities of this distillation of our country, properly known under the name of whisky, was manufactured and changed into brandy, cherry-bounce, Holland gin, Jamaica and Antigua rum, and various liqueurs which met a ready sale at foreign markets, and a considerable consumption in our own. The events anterior to the war which occasioned but a partial introduction of foreign spirits, and the war, which afterwards produced almost their utter exclusion, gave to the proprietors of

stills, an advantage which no other causes could have operated. The fermented spirits they produced, and which hitherto had never been varied from its original distillation, now assumed the character of the camelion, and changed from white to red, to green or blue, at the option of its possessor ; it partook of the taste of the juniper, of sugar cane, and various other ingredients, and was sold under an hundred different shapes and titles. At one period, during the war, rye and Indian corn, as being the staple and best articles for producing this liquor, assumed a price nearly equal to wheat ; although their actual value and cost of raising, is not entitled to more than one half, or one-third. Apples rose to a price never known before, and even turnips and potatoes as a substitute and succedaneum, claimed a value they never before had seen in the history of this nation. Stills multiplied in all quarters, and those who lived in cities, under every disadvantage, erected them ; whilst formerly none but the farmers who could make them an auxiliary to the fattening of his pork, by the redundancy of grain, could ever consider them as attended with profit.

The distiller, however, must now calculate on very reduced profits, and the tax on his still will reduce it still lower. The price that he obtained for his unadulterated and pure corn whisky, will now in a short time, purchase the rum of the West Indies, or the brandies of France ; and as every native liquor is the best, no one will touch the brewed or manufactured whisky, in the shape of either brandy, gin, or spirits, while the genuine is to be procured on equal terms. It naturally follows, that distillation will be attended with many misfortunes ; a decrease of stills will ensue, and the price obtained for these last three years, for rye and other grains, as well as fruits and roots of the earth, will decrease in a certain ratio, though I am deceived if they will decrease in the same proportion as the recult of the still.

In this light I am inclined to consider the distiller of fermented liquors, as one of the many sufferers by the change of the times ; and it deeply behoves him to be on his guard against the reduction of price, which must naturally occur ; and also, the diminishing demand both at home and abroad, particularly that which latterly has been occasioned by the various armies of the United States, and

which, in loss and consumption, carried off immense quantities of this article.

The manufacturer next engages, in a very serious manner, my attention; if any class of our citizens will suffer great injury from the transition of the times, it is likely to be the patriotic, the enthusiastic and adventurous manufacturer. The benefits derived by the United States during the contest with Great Britain, by the industry employed in manufacturing various cloths of cotton, linen, and woollen, &c. by the erection and establishment of various machineries, the numerous and inappreciable establishments founded on the improved chymistry, the mineral and metallic productions necessary to other civil arts, are all likely to be but indifferently repaid to the capitalist, who embarked his fortune in these pursuits. The benefits derived by the nation have been numerous, and far greater than a general observer would suppose. In a time of war to foster and encourage the artizan in such employments as were calculated to alleviate the wants of the community, and particularly the soldier in the service of his country, was a natural and interested feeling in the government; a decided preference was, therefore, shown to the manufactures of our own people; and contracts, by the agents appointed by government, were entered into for large supplies of necessary articles for clothing, expressly stipulating, that they were the fabric of the country. Almost every article of clothing which were furnished to the troops of the United States, not excepting blankets, were the manufacture of our own citizens; and the last mentioned article, manufactured in a particular manner, (a mixture of cotton and wool,) possessing superior properties in many respects, for the service of the camp, afforded greater comforts to the soldier, than two of those imported, and heretofore generally used.

The great expense to which the manufacturing capitalist has been submitted, in the new career in which he started, whether guided by interest or stimulated by patriotism, or by both, is likely to eventuate in much disappointment and loss.

The interest of England urges her by every means to force her various fabrics into the most general circulation; and the trade with the greatly extended territory of these states, diversified by various seasons and climates, has been ever considered the most profitable and important that England enjoyed. Interest, the polar star

of nations, (as well as individuals,) directs her to pursue that path which will aid and encourage the exportation of her manufactures and her traffic with America; and the height of refinement to which her artizans have arrived, gives her a decided preference even in the opinion and fancy of our own citizens, to similar goods of natural fabrication.

The proper distribution of colours, the just appropriation of light and shade, the evenness of thread—and above all, the exquisite finish and glaze, which certain goods receive from the hand of the adept, naturally gives them a value in the eye of every beholder. Besides which, there is another provocative to value and choice—that indefinable something which exists under the name of *fa hion*, and which imperiously governs the fancy and caprice of the world. As hitherto Europe, and particularly England and France, have been the rabiters and precedents of this camelion goddess, even across the Atlantic; it will be found an unattainable effort to correct this despotism of fancy, without a strong inducement operating sensibly on the interests of the community.

It may be argued that patriotism should stimulate us to encourage the workmen and mechanics of our native soil, but it would be argued in vain. Will any one of us purchase an article made at home, of a thread more uneven, of an inferior finish, of a *fashion* out of date, merely because it was made at home, when for the same, or perhaps less money, we can procure the *newest fashion* of England, carrying with it colours better executed, and an appearance more beautiful? Even admitting that the article might be stronger and wear better, unless the eye and fancy were pleased, there must be a greater stimulus to obtain it a preference—*videlicet*, its price.

Notwithstanding the raw material may be the natural production of our soil; the low price of labour, and the high perfection to which machinery has been brought in Europe, gives the manufacturer abroad, and particularly England, (as having the articles most suited to our wants,) a decided advantage over this country. And those articles, after paying all charges abroad, the freight across the ocean, and the import duty at home, can yet afford a commission and a profit, and undersell that manufactured by ourselves of the same texture; and what is a necessary and a serious part of these consi-

derations is, the *mercantile* policy united with the policy of her *power*, undeviatingly pursued by England through the medium of her bounties, drawbacks, and the system of long credits established by the traders of that nation; the great sacrifices they are always ready to make, in order to destroy competition, in order to secure a market, and the political influence which is always connected with her agency, which will be a formidable antagonist to our domestic ingenuity and industry.

That these men who have aided by their enterprise and activity the general government, and the nation at large, in the employment of their energies and capitals; who have clothed the soldier in his camp, providing also for the daily wants of a vast continent; should, in a day of peace, and what is termed general joy, be thrown from employment and involved in difficulties and distress, is a reflection which must arrest the attention and feelings of our rulers and the community.

CHAPTER III.

How far the general government can protect the citizens of the United States under changes of War to Peace—The necessity of calling a Convention, its legality and its effects considered—Exports particularly noticed—Imports considered—Manufactures, the Economy resulting therefrom—Export duties on Wheat, Cotton, and other articles, considered—Canals and Roads considered—The necessity of Government holding those improvements in their own hands—The abuse of Lotteries, &c.

The preceding chapter has been employed to demonstrate that neither the merchant, the agriculturist, nor the artizan, (particularly the one exclusively employed in fabricks,) will receive any of those various benefits which were looked upon to be the result of the return of peace; but on the contrary, that each will be likely to experience a sudden and disastrous check in their pursuits, and, that the artizan, or manufacturing capitalist, is the most exposed to suffer disappointment, and serious inconvenience by the revolution of the times.

There are evils in human life which admit of no remedy or palliation; yet in political ethics, there are few evils so bad but they might be reduced, if not wholly cured. The inquiry, therefore, is, in what manner can the evils likely to ensue be deprecated, and how far is it in the power of these states, in their political wisdom, to extend the parental hand to protect their children and dependants? A nation is rich, powerful and envied, only by its wise and just administration. Hitherto the United States have been the envy of the Christian world; and thus the suffering subjects of the ancient dynasties of Europe, have courted emigration to our shores, abandoning, as they will tell you, poverty and degradation at home, to find comfort, if not wealth; and a *character* in society, if not *honours*, in a land of freedom. It is sincerely to be hoped that the same wise policy which has conducted, as yet, the only republic in the world, to happiness and fame, may still exist; and that this

day of general peace, which, in its consequences, seems to excite some alarm in our bosoms; may only be the prelude to more able and just plans, to preserve our prosperity, and crown with additional honours the sachems of our nation.

In order to progress with safety, and give a powerful impetus to those measures, which it may prove the policy of the United States to adopt, it appears to me indispensably necessary that a convention should be called by the majority, (if not the *unanimous* voice of the states,) to alter and amend the CONSTITUTION, as circumstances and the present situation of the world may require. It is not a convention similar to the Eastern convention, that is here alluded to; it is not—but I forbear from expressions on this subject—that convention has received its *final* dismissal to the “*tomb of the Capulets* ;” and as it is unmanly to level a blow at a prostrate and defeated enemy, however insidious were his designs; I refrain from any animadversions on its motives, or its principles. The convention that I here propose, is a convention by the unanimous voice and feelings of the confederated states; or, at least a majority of them; in a day of peace and tranquillity; and after our contest with the greatest maritime power of the world has ended with honour to the American name. If this can be effected, I think the measure will be attended with benefits to the nation; but any other convention than one constitutionally authorised, should have no more weight with the general politics and municipal regulations of the general government, than the statistical laws and regulation of Georgia or Louisiana, have with the District of Maine.

The collected wisdom and virtue of those who framed the constitution of these states, produced, as they supposed, as perfect a political instrument, fitting to the temper of the times then existing; as wisdom and virtue could dictate. And one great and judicious part of its perfection consisted, in its being liable to alterations and amendments, as circumstances and policy might demand; which alterations could only be made by a concurrence of a majority of the states. Nearly thirty years have elapsed since the federal compact was made:—the constitution, perfect as it might then seem to those who organized it, was not even considered by them to be of that perfection in all its clauses, as would suit all times and all events. It was left open for experiment and circumstances to prove, wherein

its excellencies or defects consisted. Considering the widely extended territory over which it was to operate, it could not be supposed that the *coup d'œil* of human sagacity could divine the events of years, the changes which might operate on culture, and commerce, or the various improvements and increase which time might occasion in a new and thriving empire. The addition of various states, also, which now include a large portion of the territory of the nation, could not have engaged the attention of the authors of our present constitution; being ignorant, at that time, of what portion of soil the additional states should consist, and its properties and productions. Who, at that time, would have contemplated on the accession of New Orleans, by purchase, and the free navigation of that wondrous river, the Mississippi; (subjects of themselves, of magnitude sufficient to arrest the consideration of an empire,) but as events which would require the revolution of at least a century to produce?

The regulations, as regards exports, have been long considered by many general politicians, unbiassed and uninfluenced by party, to be a defective portion of this national instrument.

Almost every nation in the world, (America excepted,) draws a revenue, greater or lesser, from all such articles as are derived from the *recult* of the earth, or are the natural and indigenous productions of their soil—and those who have a circumscribed and limited territory, and a superabundance of subjects, wisely and politically give a bounty on certain articles of manufacture; in order to induce industry to take another channel, and direct it from the tillage of the earth to mechanism and the arts. The policy of various countries directs them, to apportion this duty on their different articles of export, in those proportions, which, while it enriches the revenue, would not act as a prohibition, or admit a neighbouring nation to supply the article at a lower rate. The constitution of the United States allows the exportation of every article of domestic growth or manufacture, free of any duty, drawing therefrom no revenue for the nation. Doubtless this principle had motives of a generous kind for its origin; and those motives, it will naturally be supposed, were no other than to create a stimulus for the culture of the soil, among a people, who had an immense tract of territory, and a small population, in comparison, scattered over it. The policy is

obvious between nations, where in the one case, the acres are ten times more numerous than the inhabitants ; and in the other, where the inhabitants are ten times more numerous than the acres. To aid cultivation by the strongest inducements, was the natural policy of the United States, on the declaration of their independence ; and to do this with effect, it appeared both reasonable and wise, that the fruits of the earth should be unshackled and unrestrained. Thirty revolving years have shed their benignant blessings on its children—thirty summers have yielded to the labours of the husbandman, increasing plenty ; and the sons of those who cultivated with *care* and *economy*, their *ten* and *twenty* acres, now cultivate in *ease* and *affluence* their *hundreds*. Thousands of miles, (not acres,) where the hammer was never heard to sound ; where the tread of civilized man had never, thirty years ago, been known to explore, are now changed from sombrous and majestic forests, to populous states, beautiful towns and hamlets, surrounded by verdant fields of rich and luxuriant grain, or pasturage ; and the dark swamps and morasses, which engendered pestilence, now flourish with all the pride and beauty of the Indian corn, the rice plant, the cotton shrub, and the sugar cane. Tens upon tens of thousands of acres, which had never felt the plow or harrow wound their bosoms, are now converted into fields of gay and variegated landscape ; and new states, rich in every article of necessity, are rising, as by enchantment, in the hearts of regions, which, when the constitution was formed, were only trackless wilds.

Considering *these* important changes, as the probable results of that free and liberal policy which animated our forefathers ; and which, emanating from virtue, unwarped and unbiassed by the prejudiced, and selfish dogmas of ancient courts, (in which patriotism is defined, to enrich the pampered few, and treason, *that* which scatters even crumbs to the *galled and suffering multitude*.) Considering *these* as the results of our policy, the constitution wisely provided for its own revision, when the duties of the nation might invite it. That *hour*, from various causes, seems now to present itself ; it calls not, however, for any fundamental alteration in the fair instrument of our national greatness. Its principles have been long tested by ourselves and the world, to be the happiest production of wisdom and virtue, and the best safeguard to the rights of man. Yet

it calls, notwithstanding, for the revision of certain parts of it, and *that* particularly, which regards the exports of our raw materials, or those produced from the recult of the autumn. The *hitherto* wise policy of this instrument has *now* produced all the desired effect, both in cultivation and emigration; and it is *now* time that the government should *derive* from *them*, an ample revenue; and that this tax should be raised, not from the consumer at home, but from the consumer abroad. Wheat, Indian corn, rice, cotton, hemp, flaxseed, and tobacco, may at this day be said to form the staple and prominent productions of the soil of North America, as also the most important branch of her exports; each of those articles is capable of extracting from itself a revenue, by a duty laid on its exportation; which, although in the first instance, paid by the merchant at home, would be an additional value on the article abroad, as not being able to be furnished elsewhere at a cheaper rate, the consumer must refund it.

The policy which would dictate those export duties, would be wise to leave them always open for the consideration of congress, either for their increase, reduction, or abandonment, as times and circumstances might vary. The remarks in my second chapter, in which I look to the future agricultural prosperity of Spanish America, admonish us, that the **PRESENT IS THE HOUR** at which we can safely raise a revenue; which, at a period not very far distant, it might be dangerous to attempt. The day of peace also, is the day fitted for the experiment. The commerce of peace is merely that of an exchange of articles of one nation with the other, for their relative wants—speculation and great profits are asleep. *It, therefore becomes more easy to ascertain what taxation these articles will admit, without being introduced into foreign markets under any disadvantage from a competition—the world at large being now fair competitors with us.* This is considering that Europe will yet repose. To estimate the amount of taxation that these exports would bear, must be the inquiry of a board instituted for the purpose; the demands for, and the consumption of the article must be duly considered, and particular attention paid that the taxation should be apportioned to each article according to its estimation and standard abroad, and its greater or lesser cultivation; so that it would not in any measure militate against the interest of any individual

species of useful culture, or by distressing it, reduce the spirit of that enterprise which it might engage.

Without entering into any calculation of the amount of exports, or what percentage they would bear, I shall confine myself to a general assertion, of the correctness of which, arithmeticians may hereafter determine—that if a wholesome, unoppressive, and proportional duty was levied by the government, on each article *exported*, that its product would be not only equal, but greater than all the duties received from importation in a time of peace; and that this would render unnecessary many of the taxes imposed to defray the expenditures of the war, and the debts of the nation, will, I am convinced, be palpably visible to the nation itself.

The policy which introduced the clause in our constitution, forbidding duties on exports, however beneficial in its intention, or even in the motives upon which it was established, has been tested by time, to be injurious to our *present* interests. To a nation which, like the Chinese, would make its fundamental policy consist of a total interdiction of maritime enterprise, which should forbid all exports in ships of its own; which should aim to avoid intercourse with other countries; and resolutely determine against all interchange of political or national relations with the rest of the world. To such a nation, (who, like *China*, would be also competent to maintain this policy,) the principle of free and untaxed export would unquestionably be wise and necessary. Yet who is he that can assert that the fabrics of China are not taxed before they are permitted to pass the barrier walls? or even should this not be the case, it amounts to the same thing; the artizan must pay so much for his privilege to work, and the government draws a revenue from the industry and profits of her subjects. Little is known of China, but it certainly does not hold out alluring principles for the imitation of these states. The policy of her non-intercourse may, perhaps, be well adapted to her peculiar civilization, to her fear and contempt of the rest of the world; but it has no traits in it which suit the taste and enterprize of the independent citizen of America.

It is more than probable, that to this very source we may ourselves trace this principle in our constitution. From the beginning to nearly the close of the last century, the Chinese nation was seen

with the same sensibility with which we view the brilliant tints of a picture reflected by the *camera obscura* ; or that sensation of delight with which youth witness from the pit or boxes of a theatre, the illusions of a pageant or a drama ; the Chinese nation was but little known, and it was judged only by the beauties of its exterior drapery, the tinsel which decorated its productions, and the character of novelty which the dissimilarity of its productions and manners presented, compared with every other nation on the globe. The last century was an age of curiosity and philanthropy ; every means by which human happiness could be promoted was sought with enthusiasm ; it was a virtuous zeal, which can never be too much cherished nor admired, and even its errors are entitled to some respect. Among those errors was the admiration of this antisocial policy of the Chinese, who have become, probably better known, and less entitled to admiration or imitation. We know now that their internal condition is the most inveterate of all tyrannies and slaveries ; and that the barbarity of its internal government is better adapted to excite the execration than the respect of mankind. It was the fashion, however, in the last century, to admire the Chinese. Of all the writers of that age, *none* condemned, and *many* held forth the Chinese as examples of admiration, for wisdom and perfection in their policy. Mankind are never so ready to bestow their admiration as on objects above their comprehension ; and objects of this kind, insusceptible of immediate examination, are readily taken upon authority. The Chinese existed as a nation without exporting her own products, or importing those of others. It was in the last age an opinion among the most influential body of men, which has ever existed at one period in the world, that such a policy would be wise in every nation ; and the founders of our constitution adopted the opinion, at least so far as this principle goes. But we might, with as much reason, adopt the principles of Voltaire's sincere Huron, as a rule of civil government, as the notions of Chinese policy which then prevailed.

To investigate this principle of our constitution, which forbids a tax upon exports, we might consult facts better known and easily accessible. Overcoming that proverbial fondness which mankind unhappily displays for being cheated, we must examine the simple truths which experience ought to have brought

under our eyes long ago. We should consider that society, no more than a family, can exist without resources to defray expenditure; that even, if as a nation we stood single in the world; or separated, like the Chinese, from the common intercourse of nations, that there must be a portion of the property of every individual, in some shape, surrendered as a contribution to the general support of the national family—to its protection—to its prosperity—in a word, to the use of its government. The government must have household furniture, and subsistence, and allowance for wear and tear. When we have determined this principle in our own minds, we have only to inquire by what means this contribution to the general stock, from the stock of individuals, can be made with the greatest ease and the least inconvenience. This inquiry will lead us to examine the nature of the impost, or the tax upon goods imported from abroad; we take a piece of broad cloth, and we find that in its progress to and from the foreign loom, it has to pay—1. The cost of purchase of the sheep. 2. Subsistence of the shepherd. 3. The wool stapler. 4. The wool factor. 5. The wool comber. 6. The spinner. 7. The weaver. 8. The dyer. 9. The fuller. 10. The cloth dresser. 11. The factor. 12. The expenses of transport and package. 13. The export duty. 14. The freight. 15. The insurance. 16. The impost duty. 17. The profit to the importer. 18. The retail or wholesale draper—besides ten or twelve intermediate descriptions of persons, such as washers, pickers, cloth-markers, warehouse-men, and labourers, porters, packers, &c. &c.

This enumeration of persons employed, serves to show the variety of hands which must be paid severally, in proportion to the established value of their time, ingenuity, labour, and the capital which is employed in the manufacture and the trade; and it leads us to a more simple view of the question, which it is necessary to ask, in order that we may discover how this money and the services are paid; or from what source it is derived, or who pays these various descriptions of people, employed in the raising of the wool, passing it to the loom, and finishing and transporting it to the foreign market?

The question is already asked in stating it—who pays all these expenses?

To perceive the operation clearly, and answer it distinctly, we must state a preliminary fact, that no part of the work or service performed on this piece of broad cloth, is performed without payment for the service; and it is sufficiently comprehensible to the plainest understanding, that as the making of cloth is undertaken for the purpose of obtaining subsistence, or augmenting the amount of property, in those who engage in the trade; that each of those who dispose of the article, in whatever shape; whether in the fleece or in the yarn, or in the finished cloth, each of them must obtain something more than the original and accumulative cost of the article; this is called *profit*, which always signifies something more than the previous cost. We must, therefore, add the *profits* of each successive dealer to the prime cost, and the price of labour.

How is the man, who last sells the article, paid? Or, in other words—when this piece of broad cloth arrives in New-York, or Philadelphia, the duties are all paid, and the cloth on the shelf of the trader who sells it for use, who then pays for it? The answer is plain; as none of the artisans are unpaid,—as all the duties on the English export are paid—as the import duties are paid,—and the retail draper buys only to sell at a *profit*; the only mode by which it can be done, is by accumulating all the previous expenses, and adding the draper's profit, which makes the *selling* price of the article; so that we here see that the man who wears the cloth, is he who actually pays all the labourers, factors, export duties, freight, insurance, import duties, and the profit of the several factors and dealers, through whose hands it has passed.

To possess a very clear perception of the momentous truths which are involved in this consideration of the progress of the manufacture and sale of a piece of cloth, we have only to ascertain what is the relative or positive value of the *wool*, and what the relative or positive value of the *cloth* when sold. In England we shall suppose the average price of wool per pound, for superfines, may be taken at two shillings and six pence, or equal to our half dollar the pound, and estimating a loss of one half the weight in the manufacture, that each yard weighs one pound; and that the broad cloth thus made and weighed, sells, or has sold, in our market, from eight to eighteen dollars the yard. While we perceive with astonishment the augmentation of price from the raw wool till it covers the back of

him who pays for it; we cannot but perceive that he who pays for the cloth to wear it, is the person who pays all those tribes of workmen—all the duties of export and import—all the freights, and all the profits of the foreign factor and the domestic draper.

But we must, in order to perceive these facts in the manner in which they apply to our practice, and our own affairs, reflect, that the same principles apply to every article imported from abroad; we shall then be able to perceive how our policy is calculated to benefit other nations at our own expense; while, by refusing to ourselves the same advantages which every other nation derives from the exports of its products, we confer on them an advantage for which they do not give us any equivalent, nor even thanks—and in some cases derision for our folly.

We perceive that so far as we purchase the productions of foreign nations, we pay for all the intermediate social labour, between the first cost of the raw material and the import duty; which whole value is in fact a *contribution* paid by us to the nation from which we purchase, as much as any other tax. Let us offer a very loose estimate, taking the piece of broad cloth for our *datum*.

An end of broad cloth of 25 yards, say sells for 15 dollars	
the yard,	product \$ 375
Deduct 25 per cent. profits of draper,	93
	<hr/>
Price before importation,	282
From the gross price before importation, deduct the price	
of the wool at half a dollar a pound, and allowing 50	
per cent. waste,	50
	<hr/>
	232

Thus it appears, that for the product of 50 pounds of wool, manufactured in foreign countries, and for the support of foreign artisans, factors, export duties, and freights, we pay nearly five times the original cost of the raw article.

Apply the principle of this single case of a piece of broad cloth, to the aggregate of our commerce with foreign nations, and it will be seen that we *voluntarily* or *blindly contribute* to the support of

foreign industry, and foreign government; while we refuse ourselves the privilege of laying an internal duty on articles of our own production, which are equally necessary to foreign nations.

It requires only to compare the price of our raw cotton with the prices of the same article produced in other nations, and the price of the manufactured article produced from our staples, to show that it is in our power to make other nations contribute to our industry and revenue, as we now do to theirs. Particular attention would be required in the classification of the taxable articles of export. During the disturbances in Europe, from the year 1795, to the late conclusion of the general peace, a considerable and productive revenue might have been raised by a very small duty on flour exported to Europe, South America, and the West Indies; a duty of even twenty cents per barrel might, for a great part of this time, have been obtained without producing the *least* effect on the trade, or injury to the merchant, or exporter. The tax levied by the government on exportation, when there is not a competitor to undersell in the market abroad, is always paid by the consumer; as has been seen in the case of a piece of broadcloth. Thus, when the municipal regulations of Spain, in order to encourage the importation of flour into her colonies from her possessions in South America, laid a duty in the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, &c. of eight dollars per barrel on foreign flour; the effect was to raise the price in those islands from 12 to 20 dollars, because they were ignorant of the true state of agriculture in their continental possessions, and their capacity to supply the wants of those colonies. A competition with the United States, under these circumstances, was futile, and the extra price of eight dollars per barrel, while these regulations existed, were paid not by the merchant of the United States, but by the unlucky Spaniard who eat the flour in the colonies, whose legislators were ignorant of the operation of trade, and of the productions of their own country. To attempt, however, a heavier tax than twenty cents on the barrel, on the exportation of this article, might be dangerous, and perhaps unnecessary; leaving it for the experience of a few months to prove whether it might, with safety, be increased; or whether it might not be politic to abstain from any imposition on this article. As France, Poland, Sicily, Macedonia, and Odessa, (in the Euxine,) and many ports in the

Mediterranean and islands in the Atlantic will become, on the continuation of peace, competitors in this article. How soon their industry will be directed with that ardour which will reward it by abundant harvests, is yet to be seen. Whether their spirits are broken and destroyed by the long continuance and the calamities of war; or whether they will be reanimated by the return of peace, will be perceived in the policy adopted by their different governments.

One measure of policy might enable us, however, to raise an important revenue from this article without fear of any competition from foreign countries, it would without doubt, in the first instance, be attended with expense, but would at the same time be adding to the wealth of the nation: this is, the cutting of canals from one navigable water to another, and so intersecting the country that those articles which are now loaded with a heavy land carriage, should find an easy water transportation, unattended with one-fifth part of the expense. A canal cut from Pittsburg, to communicate with the Chesapeake or Susquehanna, and from the Susquehanna to the waters of the Delaware, and from those of the Delaware to the Rariton, would open an inland communication from Orleans to Champlain, and our most northern and eastern states, by water; thereby affording the means of a safe and economical conveyance of the different products of each state to the other, and enabling us at Philadelphia, New-York, or New London, to receive the flour of the western counties of Pennsylvania, at a price which would warrant the enactment of an important export duty, the revenue of which would in a very few years, on this very article, defray all the expense of locks and canals, which this highly valuable and national improvement would require. (See William J. Duane on Roads, Canals, &c. And Robert Fulton, in the Appendix.)

There are various other articles, the abundant production of these states, in which the same caution is not necessary, being not the growth of other countries, or cultivated so inconsiderably as not to admit of a competition; and the ports of all Europe being thrown open, causes them an increased, instead of a diminishing demand. Cotton is one of those articles on which an export duty may be laid, without the fear of injuring the exporter, or causing to the cultivator a loss.

During the wars in Europe, through the severe, although just policy of France, England was almost alone the consumer of this article ; her jealousy against the manufacturers of France evinced itself in various ways, and the municipal decrees of France manifested her anxiety to encourage and support her establishments in this article, by the most rigid exclusion, and severest penalties.

France, as well as many, if not all the powers of Europe, will, on the consolidation of a peace, direct their attention to the establishment and improvement of their cotton manufactures—Switzerland, and Swabia, Saxony, and the countries between the Rhine and Elbe, and Holland, particularly. Thus, instead of one market for this article, and it being in a measure under the jurisdiction of England, and in the power of a few rich capitalists, to raise or depress its price, and to establish its value according to their own interests, we shall have the markets of the European world open to us with purchasers, without fear of competition, strong enough to affect any municipal duty the policy of our government may consider wise to adopt regarding it. Without further dilation on each article—the general mass of our exports being taken into view, it will be easy to distinguish those which may suffer by a competition, from others, which, having a continual demand from foreign countries, may, without injury to the cultivator or exporter, be made a source of easy and productive revenue to the nation, harmless in its operation on every class of society. In this number are tobacco, flaxseed, rice, beef, pork, ginseng, quercitron, wool, and many other articles which will themselves manifest their importance by the foreign demand.

There is one important subject which calls for the attention of government, this is to remedy an evil which the generous character of our government has led us to adopt, in conferring too readily on individuals, corporations, and societies, certain privileges and charters, which in many instances, have been abused, and which, in most instances it would be politic for the government to reserve for itself. Thus we see seminaries and churches built by lottery, which, gloss it as we may, is neither more nor less, than gambling—and thus we also see turnpikes made the property of individuals and corporations, which often times are conducted rather as the subject of private speculation than of public benefit ; and instead of being, as intended,

an accommodation and comfort to the traveller, occasion him inconvenience and expense.

If lotteries are considered, in some measure, harmless, and are sanctioned by the government ; they, as well as turnpike roads and canals, might be made very important objects of revenue ; and if seminaries of instruction are required in various parts of our extensive territory, government would have the full and efficient means in their hands to enable it both to establish and protect them ; and I am decidedly of opinion, that national institutions are preferable in many points, to private or individual schools ; and that, while they offer a cheap and well appointed theatre for instruction, they also tend to excite the gratitude of the student, and inspire him with those sentiments of patriotism and reverence for his country, which stimulates him to noble ambition, and surrounds her, in the day of danger, with a bulwark of strength in the virtue of her citizens.

That lotteries should be applied to the building of places of public and divine worship, must strike the mind of the sensible and religious man, as a perversion of taste and sentiment, and an incorrect code of morality, which does not accord with our professions, or even the rest of our actions. There are few nations, I believe, who have a juster sense of religion than the United States of America ; and no people whose actions correspond more with their professions, both of religion and morality—without the latter the first cannot exist, except as a mantle of duplicity : it behoves, therefore, government, as well as societies themselves, to expel from their ethics, a system which, although it may not absolutely vitiate, is in opposition to those doctrines which are inculcated from the pulpit. A well appointed government, where individuals are not themselves competent to erect a place of worship, should always have both the will and the means to aid and encourage an undertaking which has religion for its basis.

Turnpikes and canals should exclusively belong to government, and I am of opinion, rather to the general government than to the individual states. One system of turnpiking and locking, and that the most approved, would thus be adopted, and no adverse principles of economy in one state, and profusion in another, cause an undue bearing on society, or mar a work intended for a general be-

profit; and the fee simple of these grand improvements being vested in the nation, would form an eternal and increasing annual revenue, and would accommodate the trader or traveller from Georgia to Maine.

CHAPTER IV.

Commercial Inquiries continued—Tax on Foreign Tonnage and Countervailing Duties recommended—Further reflections on Manufactures—Merino Sheep, and the Spanish breed of South America—The policy of continuing the Double Duties—Articles which would yield a safe revenue by Duties on Export—Impost Taxation—The hitherto just administration of our Revenue Laws, and cheerful submission of our citizens—Tax on Newspapers, &c.

In order to foster the shipping interest of these states, foreign bottoms, both on exports and imports, should pay a *considerable* additional duty, as also a tax on tonnage, and a higher rate of pilotage. These countervailing impositions will be found not only politic, but *imperious* in the government to adopt; as otherwise we shall discover too soon the annual decrease of our tonnage, and foreign bottoms, the carriers of our own products. Metamorphosing too rapidly into the Chinesian system, we should, with regret, perceive from the natural course of interest, each nation trading with us, carry away under their own flag, the articles they desired; and the proud stars and stripes of our nations, which have hitherto waved prosperously and triumphantly in all regions, doomed to suffer, alas! the saddest reverse of fortune *eclipsed* and *neglected* in their own.*

* The important article of cotton pays, at this day in England, a duty of 50 per cent. more in American bottoms than English; the duties we can lay on goods imported in British ships, although *nominally countervailing*, it is to be hoped for the prosperity of our flag on the ocean, are by no means an equivalent for this extravagant taxation, (so few being the carriers of our importations.) Does it not prove the necessity of taxing the exportation of the article at a *high rate*, say three cents per pound, at home, so as to draw a revenue from the consumer abroad, and which, according to the *legem talionis*, would, however hard it might bear, be but justice as regards Great Britain.

A circular letter from Liverpool, of the date of the 30th March, states—"It seems to be in contemplation by the chancellor of the exchequer, to take off the war duty on British ships, and leaving it to operate on those of other nations, making a dif-

Every nation possesses the right of directing, according to its wisdom, its municipal concerns, encouraging its exports or imports, raising from either a revenue, or prohibiting one or both, as its interests may dictate, or the policy of their states may render necessary. Thus Spain, and France, and England, &c. have interdicted the entry of manufactured tobacco, and various other articles. Thus Spain forbids the exportation of it and various articles from her colonies, unless to the Peninsula with license. Thus England establishes similar practices and restraints on their commerce with foreign nations in her colonies, and at home, interdicting the entrance of certain articles which might militate against her interest, by the penalty of burning; prohibiting the exportation of others, and giving bounties for either entry or export, as she deems politic.

Not wishing to see the agricultural interests of America either abandoned, or in any manner diminished, by the introduction or premature establishment of manufactures, we, nevertheless, should feel a sentiment of deep regret, if those enterprising men who have nationally introduced various articles of the first necessity generally imported, should be abandoned in their pursuits, at a moment they had reached nearest to perfection.

It behoves us to remember that the day of peace may again be soon disturbed, and that those articles which were found of the first necessity in a day of war, may again be wanted—and wanted in vain. Should the history of the times declare, that those men who in our late exigencies, risked their capital and employed their time

ference of two pence sterling per pound on cotton, which will amount to prohibition by American.”

Quoting the duties on entry, it states—cotton wool in British ships, sixteen shillings and eleven pence per 100 pounds—in foreign ships twenty-five shillings and six pence—upwards of 50 per cent.

Rice, in any bottom not from British plantations, twenty shillings and one farthing per hundred. From British plantations, or the East Indies, seven shillings eight pence and one-third.

Is this not sufficient motive for the United States to lay such countervailing duties, particularly on the exportation of cotton, as to prevent the loss suffered by American vessels? and should we not, in our ships, lay such a duty as would frustrate intentions so decidedly hostile to our tonnage, and so favourable to their own? With respect to rice, each nation naturally fosters their own products, or those of their colonies—they have a right so to do—but the supply of rice from British plantations and the East Indies is not so abundant as to create a competition, should we lay a considerable duty on the exportation of that article.

in pursuits so patriotic and beneficial, were all deserted by the government, and consequently ruined by the return of peace, by this tacit and tame indulgence, or preference to competitors from abroad: in such an event, is it probable *there* ever would be again adventurers brave enough to saddle themselves and families with penury, should a future day demand the same efforts? Besides, it should be considered that the encouragement of every article manufactured by ourselves is an accumulation of national wealth; and each article we no longer import, is placing so far the balance of trade in our favour; that every dollar expended on internal industry, is like the sustenance of life to the human body, as food which enters into the general circulation, and is an addition to the public health and strength.

I should be sorry, at this early period, to see America become the complete workshop which England and Holland exhibit; but at the same time, I should be more concerned to see articles of the first necessity, which it behoves every nation to foster and encourage, in order to consolidate her independence, abandoned and rejected with apathy or indifference, and suffered to perish, because a foreign nation might be able to supply them for a few cents less money per yard.

All the cotton, hempen, and woollen goods which have lately been fabricated within these states, I consider among this class—all the productions of minerals and metals are of the same character; and, I am decidedly of opinion, that great care should be taken to encourage them, by laying such duties as, while they should not interdict the importation of necessary foreign fabrics, should give a decided encouragement to the American manufacturer, and enable him to carry on his business in such a manner as, although he might not too rapidly amass inordinate wealth, he should be enabled to reap equal profits with the manufacturer abroad, and be able to support his establishment and his family, in a manner suitable to the happy condition of our country. In order also to aid the manufacturer of woollens among us, considerable attention should be paid to the breeding of sheep, particularly those of the finest wool, and those of the Spanish breed, known by the name of Merinos. Fairs should be established in various central parts of each state, and bounties of considerable value should be allowed by go-

vernment to the finest wool and largest fleece. A duty on exportation, not amounting to prohibition, but such as to make an impression on the foreign purchaser, should also be laid, which duty should be assigned as a fund for the payment of the premiums to the careful and fortunate cultivator. Regulations similar to those of the Merino Society of Philadelphia, of which Mr. James Caldwell, of Haddonfield, New-Jersey, is president, should be pursued by government, but on a larger and more interesting scale. The introduction of this valuable breed of animals among us has been one of the many occurrences arising out of the distracted state of Europe, which America has profited by. The adventurous and patriotic farmer, who has embarked the largest part of his property in this pursuit, ought to be under the immediate care and protecting hand of his government. The success or misfortune of the individual, in this instance, becomes the success or misfortune of the nation in general; and there is no country into which this valuable and productive race of animals have been introduced, but they have attracted the attention and care of its rulers. And America free, and justly appreciated wise, will surely not be the only nation neglectful of her interests, and the prosperity of her industrious citizens; particularly when it has been proved, that this gregarious race of animals thrive better on our soil, and in the temperature of our climate, than on any spot in Europe, their native valleys of Spain only excepted; and between these and the climate and pasturage of our own country there appears to be little or no preference. The dampness and moisture of England, and the northern climates of Europe, is particularly injurious to these animals; cold or heat have neither of them half the prejudicial effects as constant rains or damps, the latter occasions diseases to sheep, and deteriorates the quality of the wool. During the war the stimulus to this gregarian industry was great, and the increase of flocks has been proportionably considerable. Among the various persons, holders of this breed of sheep, we cannot avoid noticing the names of a few who, by their spirited attention and perseverance, have acted as examples to others, and made known the value of the breed, in opposition to envy and prejudice.

The names of chancellor Livingston, of New-York, colonel Humphreys, of Connecticut, James Caldwell, of Haddonfield, New-

Jersey, Dupont and Boudoin, of Wilmington, Delaware, and Benjamin B. Howell, of Philadelphia, will long be remembered as the patrons of this patriotic and national pasturage. Like to the patriarchs of old, their flocks have flourished and increased; and by the munificent hand of a fostering government, they shall spread and distend in the possessions of their descendants, and their rich fleeces shall speckle with white the green plains, the valleys, and the mountain's side, of that vast continent with which the bounteous hand of Heaven has gifted us, and enjoins us to embellish with industry and art, so that it may yield us an abundant supply for all our wants and enjoyments.

What is to prevent us from introducing into our country the Vacuna sheep, from the mountains of Peru and Quito? The wool of this animal is as far superior to the Merino, as the latter is to the common sheep; and the elevated regions of Louisiana, as well as several other parts of our country, are congenial for the procreation of this interesting animal. The writer has conversed with those who have examined, with astonishment and delight, the crude productions of industry made out of this wool; who have seen a shawl and bed-covering of such exquisite texture and beauty made by those people out of it, as to rival in elegance some of the best performances of the European world, and to give him an idea of the future importance of introducing the Vacuna breed of sheep into the United States. In place of this beautiful and valuable animal roving in a neglected state among the mountains of South America, it may be made the source of indefinite future wealth to the agriculturist and manufacturer of our country, adding thereby a new mine of riches to the nation.

Hitherto an idea has been generally disseminated, that the Vacuna sheep cannot be domesticated, and Spanish writers, as well as the government, were interested in giving currency to this belief. Independent of the fact, that there is scarcely any animal in creation, that is not carnivorous, but what is susceptible of domestication, the writer has the highest authority of a resident in that country, who had ocular proof of several Vacuna rams and ewes being made perfectly tame, although they had been *caught after they were full grown*; but he feels convinced, that if taken in a state of infancy, and bred up with the common sheep, they would speedily be

divested of their native wildness, and become the most useful race of animals that a beneficent deity has given to civilized mankind.

Leaving this subject open for dilation to the pen of those better acquainted with it than myself, and who can better delineate the various advantages which will be derived from measures calculated to produce the increase of valuable sheep, as also the cultivation of pasturage in general, I proceed to inquire, whether prohibitory duties on either import or export are, or are not, advisable; and also, into the policy of the continuance of double duties for a certain time.

There are certain articles, the inherent properties of nations, which may be particularly adapted either for the cultivation of the earth, for the preservation and nourishment of particular plants, or for the encouragement and prosperity of certain manufactures peculiar to the habits and industry of the people. Thus England forbids the exportation of copper in certain compositions, without particular permission, and under certain restrictions. Thus would she confiscate vessel and cargo that should carry from her shores a pound of fullers' earth.* Thus have certain of the Italian states forbid the exportation of the *nucula* of the silk worm; the emperor of India, under penalty of death, the exportation of certain dyes, or the discovery of their secret combinations. I am not aware of any article yet discovered, inherent to the soil of America, that should demand a total prohibition; but should such discovery at a future day occur, that by preserving the integral possession of either a mineral or a plant, these states could maintain, without competition, any species of agriculture or fabric; it would become politic to adopt measures calculated to secure this object, which has ever been considered by nations as just; and preserving to their citizens and subjects a natural vein of wealth—and for this the constitution should provide.

There are various articles, however, which are exported from America, on which a considerable revenue might be raised, and which would also have the effect to encourage our manufactures at home, and excite an emulation in industry and art.

* This article is the product of our soil, large quantities, and of a superior quality, being found in the neighbourhood of Wilmington, Delaware.

Thus flaxseed, which is exported in large quantities to Great Britain, and particularly to Ireland, might well bear a considerable tax on exportation, and which the manufacturer in that country, and ultimately the consumer of linen goods, would have to pay. As we have, heretofore, imported large quantities of linen fabrics, it might be argued that we ultimately would be the payers of this tax; but it must be observed that there are many other nations besides ourselves, who are the consumers of linen goods. The colonies of Great Britain, in particular, open considerable markets for consumption, and the kingdom of Great Britain itself, requires a vast supply. Besides, this export tax would enable the American manufacturer in flax, to vie with the fabrication in Europe, both in texture and colour; and the homespun linen cloth of America, which for durability has even now a preference, would, in the course of a very little time, assume a character in the eyes of ourselves and other countries, if not more prized, at least not inferior to that of Europe. What nation on the earth can excell America in advantages for bleaching grounds: and have we not the additional advantage of possessing within ourselves the ashes peculiarly adapted to the process of whitening?

As the cultivators of flax have already experienced, that owing to the high price of land in Great Britain and the scarcity of it, that it is cheaper for them to import the seed from America, and to cut the flax in its most valuable state proper for manufacture, than to permit it to ripen and seminate, (when it is only fit to be used for the coarser qualities of linen,) paying even a freight for it across the Atlantic; and as there is no European power that can furnish it to them at a lower rate, vast quantities being annually consumed in the oil it produces; so would they find, that with a duty exacted from it by the American government, that it still would be politic in them to continue the importation of seed in preference to raising it at home. The article of potash also, ought to produce a governmental revenue from similar arguments, as the northern nations of Europe only can furnish this article, and that never under the price that the American ashes can be afforded, with an additional charge of duty. England and France, but England particularly, is dependant on foreign nations for this auxiliary and very valuable article in various employments.

The policy of continuing the double duties on most articles imported from abroad, will strike very forcibly, for two reasons, on the minds of our reflecting statesmen. The first, and a very imperious one, is the necessity for raising sufficient revenue for the year 1815, to liquidate and diminish a part of the large debt the United States has been obliged to contract during the late war, and to defray the considerable expenses yet arising from that state, on the immediate return of peace. The second reason, is one of policy and humanity, and founded on justice. Aware that there are certain establishments, within our country, which had their rise from the state of war, and which may be found, both impolitic and unprofitable to continue in a state of peace ; it behoves the government to protect capitalists so situated, and who may have a large stock of articles on hand, already manufactured, from the ruin and desolation which must attend them, if foreign articles of the same kind were admitted without the per centum duty. Many of those artizans calculated, and very naturally, on the duration of hostilities; and if, at this day, an influx of articles of a similar denomination should take place from abroad, and be allowed to undersell them, the value of their property would be, most probably, vitally injured and destroyed. It is, therefore, incumbent on the policy and justice of our national legislators to allow a certain necessary time for the disposal and consumption of articles of this nature. Although many articles of our manufacture will naturally thrive and vie with those from abroad, if properly encouraged by our government, yet there are others which it will be found prudent to abandon ; and rather continue the importation than to hazard the enterprise of competition at so early a day. Many articles of hardware, porcelain, &c. are included in this survey of our arts. Fine instruments of iron and steel, pins, buttons, &c. and all articles in which tin is a staple ingredient. and also those in which the clay of foreign countries is superior to our own, ought not to be cultivated by us, as the advantage would assuredly be against our competition ; they possessing local and natural advantages, which we should have to pay a considerable premium to attain, and the American artizan would sustain loss from his industry, unless an absolute prohibition was laid on their importation from abroad.

Ginseng, I believe to be an article peculiar to the soil of America and but small quantities are raised elsewhere than in the United

States;* the general use in China has given a value to it from which advantages are to be derived, and some revenue to the government as there is little fear of a rival in the trade of this article for some time. From the Spanish possessions, we have not, as yet, a competition to look to, at least, not until the liberty of this nation has been for some years established. Much larger quantities of this article might be raised with profit to the agriculturist; and it behoves these states to draw a revenue from its exportation, while the day exists that they can do so with safety.

From this subject, I am led to inquire, whether the present internal taxation is salutary; and whether it would not be prudent and adviseable, as speedily as possible, to retrench this system on various articles, if not entirely to abandon it. A taxation on labour and industry, on professions and callings in life, is, in my opinion, inimical to those principles of liberty which should be cherished in a well regulated republic. A taxation on the higher luxuries of life—on charriots, liveries, race horses, and such establishments as denote superabundant wealth, may be wholesome and beneficial; as the sum raised from them could never be severely felt by their owners, as riches alone could place them in their possession. But a taxation on the sweat of the brow, and on the poor artisan, whose wealth consists in the labour of his hands, is an expedient which should be resorted to only from necessity.

The danger and exigencies of the times,—a national calamity, or threatened invasion by a powerful foe; may render this species of finance incumbent, to be resorted to as an auxiliary, in order to strengthen the hands of government and afford additional security by the increase of the national resources. But when the storm which ravaged her has subsided; when the danger which menaced her is dissipated in the calm of peace; it strikes me as but politic and prudent, to abstain from every imposition which tends to shackle industry, or discourage the labouring artisan in that pursuit of life, into which fortune or inclination may have thrown him. Excise laws and internal imposts, are besides universally

* It is raised however, in Thibet, Khorosson, and Persia, and its price is fluctuating; but it is no where found in such abundance as in the United States. That of Thibet is much less esteemed. I do not class this as an article calculated to produce any considerable revenue; considering its demand and price at the only market it commands, as too precarious. This article is indigenous to South, as well as North America.

hateful to the citizens and subjects of all nations ; it bears with it, a species of slavish submission, and places power and consequence into the hands of a numerous body of petty officers ; too frequently inclined to exert it with inflexible rigidity, and to deny that lenity and compassion, which the laws of nations should extend to the sufferings of their subjects. The property of an individual may be jeopardized, and even his future success in life be obscured by the rapacity and unfeeling heart of an official tax-gatherer.

In England, where this species of taxation is more general than in any other part of Europe, and where the government has long resorted to this exaction on her subjects in order to meet its wants and supply those inordinate expenses which her civil list, her sinecures and all the abuses of her complex and artificial system demand ; these officers are beheld with the greatest abhorrence and considered as leeches of the state, who suck without feeling or remorse, the blood of the poorest plebeian, even more voraciously than that of the titled son of exhaustless wealth. The most crying distresses of the people of England are raised against these legalized vultures and the most alarming indignation has been caused by the effects of this municipal tyranny. It vexes and galls the indigent and industrious trader, whose paltry capital, the product of diurnal labour and the most pinching economy, is more narrowly watched than the warehouses and vaults of his princely and powerful neighbour, who, from the possession of abundance has the power of blinding the eyes of these harpyes of the law, and giving in their own estimate, as their interest, and not their consciences, may dictate ; a natural consequence of this method of taxation is, the demoralizing principles it excites, and the petty arts and frauds it encourages, to elude the vigilance of the domestic spy, in bosoms which otherwise would not harbour a guilty or disgraceful sentiment.

The scanty profits of the industrious million, are earned with so much anxiety and toil, that they find them, without any reduction, but barely sufficient to meet those wants, which "nature is heir to ;" and this state of poverty, truly depressing, inclines *them* to veil, if possible, their traffic and concerns, in such a manner, as to delude the prying and vigilant eye of these *Janisaries of justice* ; while the opulent vender, whose warehouses and vaults are groaning with his wealth, is prompted by motives more sinister and avaricious,

and less excusable—to enter the same lists of deception ; and who, possessing with the will, the means of surer success, plays his game with less danger and more certain profit.

All exactions which strike the subject or citizen, as tyrannical or unjust, inclines him to discontent and violation of the laws. When taxation is light, smuggling is never resorted to ; and on the contrary, when it is grievous and imposing, this species of national fraud, becomes a perfect system, and is pursued as a livelihood without remorse, and scarcely a consciousness of guilt.

America has hitherto demonstrated to ancient Europe in her system of government the predominance of virtue over vice—of the dictates of conscience over that of interest. A smuggler or defrauder of the revenue of the nation has been considered among us almost as a political murderer, and his punishment by society on detection was even greater than the law itself inflicted ; so few however, have been the instances among us during the time of peace, and while commerce was maintained with every nation in the globe, that it would be difficult to cite them. Outlawry and disgrace was however their portion, from the universal voice of their fellow citizens.

During the late dispute with England, and the interdiction of either imports or exports with that nation and her colonies ; some few venal wretches were found, even ready to sacrifice national honour, and their integrity of name and character, at the altar of dishonest wealth ; prostituting at the shrine of Plutus, those moral obligations which had hitherto been viewed in Europe, as the *brilliant* of transatlantic virtue. The officers of our revenue, as scrupulous of their integrity as the merchant, from the director of the customs to the tide waiter, had never sullied their palms or consciences by a bribe. Is there that immaculate under officer, or searcher, in England, (I might in generals, say Europe) who could, being an officer a twelvemonth, assert the same ?

I should be sorry to witness the introduction of a species of venality and corruption, hitherto held in detestation in the moral code of our nation, from the pressure of any municipal regulations ; which, from their severity, their unequal bearings, or any other cause, should operate upon the hitherto unblemished citizen, to resort to deception, or by an artful and insidious interpretation of

the letter, elude the spirit and intention of the law. An evil or vice once introduced into society, is difficult to be forgotten or expelled. Virtue, which may be comprised in the words, integrity and forbearance, is of such pure water, that to receive a stain, is to forever sully it. Corrupt ideas once introduced into the pale of hitherto inflexible honesty, is apt to sap and destroy even the noblest principles. It is, therefore, that we should avoid the introduction, and with careful precaution, arrest the continuance of such hard taxation, as should induce the dealer, the mechanic, or the merchant, or the inferior orders of society, to forfeit their integrity in order to evade the evil which menaces them ; or from more corrupt motives, enjoy an advantage by their dexterity and art, which their honest neighbour or competitor in business, would not participate.

Various branches of industry, by the late acts of Congress, laying internal duties, are burthened by taxation ; some of them are articles of the first necessity, others of luxury. The cordwainer, the hatter, the saddler, (see the law) the tobacconist, &c. &c. are all obliged to pay certain duties on articles manufactured by them, above a certain value, while other trades are exempted. Now although I should be sorry to be the agent to introduce a system of fraud and misconstruction of the letter of this law, in order to evade its intention, yet I must say, that the virtue of even this nation, is not strong enough to avoid availing itself of the means offered to elude a tax which is hateful, (by the common method of "whipping the devil round the stump.") The manufacturer of each of those articles, instead of keeping a regular account of sales, and placing his items in his book, as disposed of ; will, as it were, sink the manufacturer in his own person, and make his foreman his representative. The hatter therefore who is to pay a tax on all hats above two dollars in value, will, upon the manufacture of a certain number of hats of that quality which are usually retailed at five or six dollars, make a purchase from his foreman of all the stock on hand. The foreman, by a calculation of what the article actually costs, will discover that he can afford to sell it at two dollars, or a trifle above it ; the 20 per cent. will therefore be paid on this sum, if paid on any sum ; (for hats of two dollars' value are not taxed ;) instead of its being paid on six dollars, the price which the hat will cost to the head that wears it ; for the hat manufacturer

will have changed his profession, to the wholesale and retail dealer in the article. The shoemaker, saddler, tobacconist, and all other branches of mechanics, who are taxed, will follow the same principle; if one does, all will do it. It will be considered no breach of morality; or if even so considered, the general usage will be a salvo to their consciences; for the man too scrupulously honest to stoop to this chicanery, must abandon his business, as he will pay 20 per cent more than his neighbour for his commodities, which would eventuate in ruin, as he could be undersold by every other man in the market.

In this manner will the first steps at defrauding the revenue be introduced in a nation hitherto rigidly scrupulous, in their exact compliance with the laws of taxation: and this national demoralization is to be feared, from the effect it may produce hereafter, and the tendency it may have to wean the affections of the citizen from his government, and from those moral obligations he has hitherto considered so sacred.

Taxation on spirituous and fermented liquors may be considered as a wholesome regulation. The tax on whiskey, although it falls on the consumer, does not yet fall so heavy as to prohibit his drinking quite as much, or even more than may do him good. A tax however, which would lay a mild and admonitory restriction on the *abuse* of this article, cannot reasonably be objected to; and the inward duties on foreign spirits, should be so arranged as to justify it. All high priced imported liquors, are fair subjects for taxation; it is one seldom felt by those who pay it, and from which want and industrious poverty are ever exempt. It would be the criterion of wisdom and virtue in our government, so to organise taxation, that its burthens should bear the lightest on that class of society who can feel them most; and by judicious selections of articles of export and import, capable of producing a revenue from *imposts* on them, avert from the poor, a yoke which would be unfelt by the rich; and by reaping a benefit from the consumer abroad; remove the necessity of imposing or continuing taxations, which are felt solely by our own citizens. The taxation on household furniture will, in its operations, adduce the strongest arguments for its discontinuance; as although a small and precarious sum may be raised from

it, it will not be sufficient to defray the expense of the officers employed in assessing and collecting it.

The tax upon printers of newspapers is oppressive, and falls with severe effect on a calling and class of the community, who are, generally speaking, little able to bear a deduction from their slender incomes. The wisdom and virtue of our government, will not sanction a law, which carries undue oppression on any part of society and particularly on one which is the great medium of disseminating information and useful knowledge to the most remote and divided districts of this vast continent ; and which has tended more than any other, to enlighten the general mass of its citizens, and to make those improvements and discoveries, with which the world has been enriched, particularly of late years, a general property, which diffused its benefits in a distended circle ; and has given each individual a facility of acquiring important facts, which without them, would have demanded much labour to have attained, and which he might never have surmounted. A *free press* has long been considered "*The Palladium of Civil Liberty*," and no nation ever enjoyed it to a greater extent than these United States.

The increased taxation on goods, sold by public auction, is also a subject which calls for consideration, as although it may produce an additional revenue, it nevertheless, has an undue bearing. In every other instance of taxation at home, it is the consumer that eventually pays the tax, for if a double duty be laid on sugar, coffee, or other article, the importer charges it to the grocer, and the grocer to the person who buys it for consumption. But in this instance, it is the importer or seller who pays the tax, and not the buyer. It falls very heavy also on those who, possessing an article, which, from various causes may be of dull sale, and who pressed for means, are obliged to dispose of it at auction, as they not only suffer the sacrifice of a reduced price, but have that price still more reduced by this duty to government. And it will not be denied, that, generally speaking, it is such persons who most frequently resort to this method of disposing of their goods.

CHAPTER V.

Reflections on the return of Napoleon to the throne of France.—Considerations as regards Hostilities on the Continent.—The interests of England to maintain a Continental War.—Political considerations of the government of England, her system of Commercial Monopoly, &c.—Surmise on the Result of Hostilities, should they take place.—The interest of America to remain aloof from the contest, &c.—Conclusion.

A vast field for inquiry here presents itself; one which, while it arrests the attention of all the potentates of Europe is not less interesting to the imagination of the American reader; inasmuch as it may materially affect the future pursuits and interests of this nation, by the results which may eventuate from it on the continent of Europe; I mean the return of Napoleon to the sceptre of France.

This extraordinary event produced in so extraordinary a manner, and as far as we are yet informed, unattended with the shedding of a single drop of blood, is a trait in the annals of present history, which will stagger the credibility of succeeding generations; and indeed is of that miraculous character, which even puzzles the imagination of living witnesses of the fact, to arrange under the denomination of natural events. The former exploits performed by this surprising mortal, who for twenty years seemed to have chained victory to his car, and to conquer and overthrow all obstacles and all opponents as by the act of volition; although they partake of that degree of grandeur which throws a blaze of glory on the history which traces his career, are yet of that natural character, which although never excelled, present to the imagination events of a similar stamp, in perusing the histories of other nations, and in tracing the steps of a Philip and an Alexander, or of a Cæsar and a Hannibal; but there is no parallel, no analogous event in history,

which relates that a soldier of fortune, an *usurper* besides, of a throne, and clothed moreover with an imperial purple of his own *creation*, who after banishment and defeat, should in ten short months return unopposed to his capital and kingdom; invading a vast territory with a few hundred followers, marching upwards of two hundred leagues without a solitary sword to oppose his progress, and banishing in turn the legitimate sovereign of the nation, whom his invading conquerors had seated on the throne surrounded with regal splendour.

There is throughout the whole of this transaction so much of the marvellous, that was a similar story wound up in the Arabian Tales or other Eastern Romance, the imagination of the reader might be pleased with its fanciful arrangement, and perhaps place it foremost in the rank of wonders, talismans, genii, and enchantments. A Coriolanus was banished from Rome for his unbending and haughty temper, after having clothed his nation with glory, by his too severe and ungrateful countrymen: in his resentment he directed his arms and vengeance against her, and employed her enemy in his cause. But he entered not her portals in triumph, and even had he sacked her capital there would have been no analogy in the two events. In the one case was a general employing a powerful army against his native, although ungrateful country; in the other a banished emperor returning without an army to reclaim his throne; and whether the voice of the military, or the general voice of the nation recalled him, there is, notwithstanding, that mystery and miracle, in every feature of this unique performance, which calls forth sentiments of the profoundest admiration, and even claims the astonishment, if not the applause of his implacable enemies.

I mean not, however, to be his panegyrist. My intentions in treating on this subject, are directed to other objects; yet, without offence to any reader, I hope I may be allowed the privilege of expressing my admiration of the *talents* of this surprising man. As to entering the lists, to extoll him as a virtuous lawgiver; as devoted to the glory and happiness of France; or to deprecate him for his mad ambition, his cruelty, or his tyrannies; I have no desire; and I consider that writer, whatever may be his own opinion of *him*, or his career, who would, at this day, force that opinion upon

the world against its consent, as being the only creed deserving credit, arrogating to himself much more wisdom and importance than he has any title to. It is posterity alone who can form a correct judgment of his merits or demerits, his virtues or his infamy, his greatness or his weakness; by the touchstone of his actions will he be tried by the future historian, and mankind will judge of him not as he appears to be, but as he really has been. No man's history is known until after death. The events which are passing before our eyes, have not yet been completed. Various circumstances which appear as realities, are but shadows, and many that we adopt as truths, are but semblances or falsehoods. Many are the men, who while living, were thought to be pious; who, when dead, have been discovered hypocrites. Many also who have excited pity and compassion by their sufferings, have been found to have been unworthy of it, or not to have suffered at all; and many others who have had the execration of their cotemporaries, have been discovered to have been martyrs by posterity. The saint has proved a sinner, and the sinner saint, when exhibited before the unprejudiced ordeal of after times. How many tyrants, surrounded with pomp and splendor, have received the sycophantic adulation of their subjects? How many good kings, from the intrigues and corruption of neighbouring and ambitious nations, have been obliged to lead their subjects to the slaughter, deluge the land with blood, and drown it in tears, or people it with orphans and with widows, whose prayers have been offered up to heaven against them. Viewing man as he exists, we oftentimes are led astray; how much more so then are we liable, when that man is a mighty monarch. Without further pursuing this digression, we leave Napoleon and his triumphs, and his defeats, his virtues or his vices, to that historian of posterity who with *facts* before him—will “nothing extenuate or set down ought in malice.”

The return of this extraordinary man to be the ruler of France, be he good or bad, virtuously or viciously inclined, of which there are various sentiments, is pregnant, however, with momentous events, and exhibits, at the same time, a singularity in history which no anterior time has furnished. The question, whether the military of France, or the voice of the French nation, which may be understood as the plurality of voices, have called him from his retreat,

is not necessary to discuss. Speculation alone could guide us in a determination ; but to assert, that there was not a great enthusiasm in a vast portion of the people of France, for his return, would be an absurdity ; in as much as to say, that the whole nation, men, women, and children were paralyzed, or under the influence of enchantment for twenty-two days, which it took him to march from Frejus to Paris, and enter it triumphantly.

There has been an idea started, which, if it have any foundation whatever, is the greatest novelty which ever occurred in the history of any time past. And if the present have given it birth, the future, I am convinced, will record it, and preserve it as a curiosity far exceeding the seven wonders of the world combined. This is neither more or less, than that the government of Great Britain has been accessary to the escape of Napoleon from Elba, and to his return to the throne of France. I must say, that this hypothesis is too singular a one for any argument or for my belief. And I should not have ventured even to have mentioned it here, but for the manner the Times Paper, a governmental paper, takes to exculpate the ministry of England, and particularly colonel Campbell, who was placed as his companion at Elba, for his escape, and this, before any accusation had been made, or any reflection cast upon them in any public print. If Great Britain, or rather the present dynasty of that nation, discovered they could not exist without a war ; and that a continental war would even be less expensive and less injurious to them, than a continuance of hostilities with America, this may at once account for the hasty conclusion of peace with these states ; and there was no surer way offered than to place Napoleon again on the throne. If Great Britain could have played so adroitly this game, which ought to have some name more emphatic than a *ruse de guerre*, she certainly has outwitted the allies, and even her own subjects in a style that bears no competition, and which, should it so prove, will deserve a niche on the loftiest pillar of political romance.

The subject, however, of most importance for our consideration and that of the world, is what effect is likely to be produced by the return of this surprising mortal on the political arena—whether the mighty armies, which it is stated, are arraying themselves against him, will come in collision with those of France, and whether the

momentary repose which Europe has enjoyed, is like to that calm which oftentimes is the foreboding symptom of dissolution; and that this ephemeral peace is to be succeeded by those appalling convulsions which shall again shake Europe to her centre, and make future historians tremble as they dictate the faithful page to posterity; or, whether at that awful moment, when opposing armies are in the mightiness of their strength, arraigned front to front, and ready to throw that thunderbolt of war, which ignorant of all but its direful commencement, leaves its termination to accident and fate:—Whether, at this moment, the angel of mercy bearing the olive branch of peace, may not descend, and dictating bounds to ambition, and justice to princes, find fitter and fairer scabbards for the unsheathed sword, than the bosoms of mortality? These are questions indeed of interesting import. That the latter may be the result, humanity might offer up her prayers with devotion and receive commendation in the sight of Heaven, but whether one or other of these events will happen, is at this moment so hid in obscurity, that to offer even a surmise on the subject, is bordering on presumption, and merits an apology.

When on one side, I view Europe and the decisions of the congress of Vienna, as far as they have been made known to us;—when I view the spirit of partition in the bosom of princes who disclaimed it—and the principle of *power*, establishing *RIGHT*, together with larger armies on foot, than its monarchs ever before embattled; I am led to adopt the opinion that there yet remains fuel to light up wars, whose flames an half a century might not quench. On the other hand, when I view desolated Europe, sick with disaster, wasted and impoverished by the continual sacrifice of blood and treasure;—her fields, which in former days, were luxuriantly rich, with all the bounties of a beneficent Deity, abandoned and deserted:—the mournful peasant bewailing, in his old age, his props, his comforters and support; and his grand children clinging to his knees, unprotected orphans—Gracious Heaven! do I exclaim,—merciful and just protector of this sphere, are these deeds necessary? Are they permitted and sanctioned by thy inscrutable wisdom? Is the ambition, the animosity, or the passions of kings and emperors, and their counsellors, to be visited upon their subjects, by these excruciating and exterminating miseries? Is there yet no end ap-

proaching to these scenes of slaughter?—or, as the sultry summer's day, when the mighty storm approaches,—when the Heaven's are overcast, and that bolt, which rives the “knotted oak,” is launched from the canopy above, and the winds descend, destroying all that feverish vapour which nature sickened at; even so are all the impurities of vicious courts to be blotted out but by the extinction of their subjects? Is the catalogue of their crimes so black, to call down such vengeance? Or will not conscience, that arbiter in the breasts of monarchs as of men, at length decide the dreadful conflict; and upon a basis of moral justice and mutual right, consolidate the world in peace?

I ask pardon of my reader for the hyperbole my warmth and feelings have excited. I should have calmly viewed this subject in a political manner, and I find myself invoking Heaven. Such however may have been the feelings of wiser and better men, and as such although reprehensible in these pages, I forbear its erasure.

I am aware that there are many who, more perhaps from want of reflection and consideration, than from any other cause, will place all the disaster and blood which may flow, at the door of *him*, who England has termed the destroyer of the human race;—I mean *Napoleon*; that his return and the events which may grow out of it, particularly the renewal of hostilities, should they take place, will all be the emanations of his mad ambition;—I have already said I am not here as the panegyrist of this man, but I trust I may declare my sentiments on this subject without offence.

His return to France, will be admitted, was not the work of enchantment; he must have had a large portion of France in his favour, and this must have been made known to him;—whether it were the military or the majority of the nation, is in my present view of this question, a matter of little importance. The force that abetted him or invited his entry into France was sufficient to protect him, and put down all opposition, and to seat him safely on his throne at Paris, without the slaughter of a single soul; of whatever this power consisted, it was nevertheless the strongest and most imposing power in France; and that it was inimical to the reign of the Bourbons is evident from its acts. Had Napoleon then have refused to accede to its wishes in recalling him to his imperial purple, would that have annihilated a sentiment so imposing, so general, so exten-

give? would it have altered the feeling towards the Bourbons? or would it not rather have excited to revolt, to the election of another chief—to another revolution—and most probably to scenes of civil war and indiscriminate slaughter? Among all the generals of Bonaparte, none could have been exalted, however great his merit, but jealousy would have had an open field; none could have assumed his honour without exciting enmity; and leagues and parties would have been formed for rival candidates; his appearance put all these feuds to rest. By the voice of the strongest power of France he was undoubtedly recalled to the throne, and he has solemnly renounced his intention of extending France beyond her limits. The monarchs of Europe cannot certainly pretend to dictate a ruler for thirty millions of souls which France contains, or to the stronger power of the thirty millions; on this head therefore, they have no grounds for war: if they dispute or disbelieve the intentions of Bonaparte, a strong and powerful army to protect their barriers, and a combination to that effect, should he mean false, is all that prudence or justice calls for; but should they invade France, determined to crush this Chief and support the Bourbons in spite of the declared will of the strongest powers of that nation, is not the scene of desolation which may ensue rather to be laid at their doors than at the door of Napoleon? If France be invaded, imperious duty calls him to defend it; unthreatened or uninvaded, should he strike the blow, no one will venture to exculpate him or defend him from the judgment that may then with justice be alleged against him.

If I am permitted to offer an opinion on this novel scene which at this moment so deeply interests the world, it is, that there will either be no bloodshed in this business, and that all the powers will again meet in a general congress, in which Bonaparte will be acknowledged and make one, or that the campaign will be a sanguinary and a short one, and perhaps, the last that will for many years to come, be fought on the European continent.

I am inclined rather to the latter opinion, and that the blow will be struck. I am induced to this belief from the great exertions England is apparently making, and the troops she is sending to the continent. The interest of England stimulates her to rekindle, if

possible, a renewal of hostilities on the continent; and she will undoubtedly endeavour to keep it alive as long as possible. When I say the interest of England, I view it only in a political light, as regards the present hour. A renewal of hostilities, will, without doubt, increase the taxes and impositions of Great Britain as well as her national debt, in order to maintain the war; and this viewed in one light cannot be considered as her interest. To lessen them all, would appear, according to reason, to be much more so. But a war on the continent establishes her monopoly; and as she has refined so long upon that system of supplying all the world with her fabricks, and making her ports the general market of mankind, in order to maintain unrivalled that system; no augmentation of the national debt, no increase of popular burthens, to whatever amount they may extend, have any consideration, compared to the principle of general monopoly. This sentiment has become so preponderating in the minds of the rulers of that nation, it has become so interwoven in all her constitutional acts and decrees; has become, indeed, so much the master spirit, which guides and directs her helm of state, that before it all other considerations bend; and however stupendous they may appear to the eyes of surrounding mortals, they are minor subjects and unworthy of a thought, to the machiavelian policy which rules the destiny of this insulated despotism.

Ten months of *peace*, has again proved to the ministers of that nation, as did the *peace of Amiens*, that it has more danger in it than an eternal war. Peace to be sure, she has not enjoyed; for the war we have lately emerged from, was of deeper consequences to her than she had calculated on. It was intended no doubt to have been maintained as an episode, or interlude, to the great drama of the continent; but it has eventuated with some tragic scenery, which was foreign to both the temper and inclinations of the "*Mistress of the Ocean*."

It was, however, the ten months peace of the continent, which had the most threatening and portentous aspect in the affairs of England. The genius of man is generally the same in every clime and country. A selfish motive prevails even with the most liberal:—Thus we find, that the moment a continental peace was concluded; people of all descriptions—the man of moderate income

—the one of rather depressed circumstances—the nobles of great and magnificent fortunes—all flocked, as by general consent, even to that clime, which from the prejudice of centuries, they had been taught to detest; and which, from difference of habits and language, was uncongenial to their tempers; merely because they could live and enjoy themselves at a cheaper rate, and escape from the exactions and taxation of their own government. Not only France, but the continent of Europe, swarmed with emigration from England; and a sentiment was fast awakening in the bosoms of the nation, that to expatriate themselves was to better their fortunes. There were, however, a portion of the community who could not put this in practice. The poor and needy dependant of diurnal profits—the artisan—the trafficker—the merchant, and particularly those who received a scanty subsistence from daily labour, seemed to be excluded from this enjoyment of deserting their soil. And on them was to fall heavy the burthen of supporting the government under which they lived. A government oppressed tenfold in proportion to any other in Europe, as regards the exactions on its subjects. It had arrived at this crisis, when the enactment of the corn laws, which forbid the importation of grain under such a price, awakened a feeling in the bosoms of wretchedness, which threatened the most desperate results; these laws, were indeed, neither more or less, than forbidding those Englishmen who remained at home, from eating bread at the reduced price; which their more favoured countrymen who sought the neighbouring soil of the continent, enjoyed. They were, however, imperious laws, and founded on the first necessity. The landed interest, of the nation, was laid prostrate if they were not enacted. It was the first step to national and universal ruin. When the landed interest of a nation is suffered to sink, all classes follow with it. And although the landed interest of England is small, comparative to her manufacturing interest, yet they are so dependant, that the same vortex which engulfed one, would destroy the other. With the national domain, or landed interest, exists also the national debt; and without the support of this interest, by these severe laws, a national bankruptcy threatened to ensue. Whatever danger was menaced therefore, from the populace; the case was urgent, was indispensable and imperious; and there was no other means offered to save the nation.

A continental war, would at once put at rest this question ; which, although maintained by the government of England, was carried at the risk of a *civil* insurrection ; was *enforced* at the point of the *bayonet* ; and was attended with many *appalling* features. It was, however, maintained ; and the opposition of the populace of London, was routed and dispersed. But who could say *that opposition* was destroyed ? The same sentiments pervaded the minds of the suffering multitude ; and might or may again be awakened and stimulated to future riots, of more alarming and eventful character. As long as peace exists with France and the continent, so long must these obnoxious and unpopular laws remain in force ; a war renders their enactment or continuance as unnecessary ; and although the shivering sons of wretchedness and despair, will be in such case, no better off than at present, (and perhaps worse,) yet the bitter and cruel *ordonnance* of their resentment, will become as a dead letter ; and although it may live in their remembrance, it will not remain as an existing statute of their rancour.

It is from these, and other considerations, that I adopt the sentiment that England will industriously endeavour to foment a jealousy on the continent against France, and to enter into the war herself, with any power that will join her ; and indeed, rather than fail in this object, I should even consider it, as an event, by no means surprising, that she would make an alliance with France, even against the other continental powers, thereby evincing at once to the world, the *justice* of princes, the *faith* of treaties, and the *considerations* which bind *allied monarchs* in the present epoch of political strife.

However contradictory to the tenets of many of my readers, however opposite to their sentiments or feelings, I consider it as a duty which I owe myself, whilst treating on this subject, to declare that I am impressed with the conviction, that the dynasty of England is drawing rapidly to a close, and that, before many revolving months shall furnish matter for the pen of the steady historian, an event of this most important character is about to present itself for *record* ;—I mean the downfall of a government, of that government which has, for many centuries *held and maintained* the most imposing attitude amongst the nations of the earth ; and which has exercised and administered its sovereignty by the *brighest* examples

of *virtue* in theory, and by the *blackest* enormities of *vice* in practice ; which has shown resplendent with the most brilliant deeds of chivalric valour ; which has been ornamented by the most splendid trophies of glory and patriotism ; which has justly boasted of her immortal sons of literature ; and has been truly the liberal patron of every art and science ; but has sullied her fame by the most atrocious intrigues of cabinets ; has been the giant of despotism in the four quarters of the globe—has visited, with unrelenting hand, her massacres from Asia to America—has vainly endeavoured to concentrate in herself the wealth of all humanity—and bouying herself up by a system founded upon the most fallacious principles—“ *that* there is no end to national credit, and national monopoly ; has, to maintain it, been as the fabled Pelops to her children, offering them up as a ready sacrifice to *ministerial ambition*—has deluged the groaning earth with blood, and invited the wrath of Heaven to chastise her. That the hour, the portentous hour, when this mighty nation of Britain is to suffer in the throes of revolution, is fast approaching, I am ready to hazard as an assertion, and ready also to qualify it by saying, that although I shall regret the enormities and the sanguinary horrors which may flow from it, and which are the general features of revolutions ; yet, as an event that deeply interests the future happiness of mankind, I shall rejoice at it ; as by levelling that enormous mountain of *HER national debt*, which poets might distinguish by piling Ossa upon PELION, it will give to the civilized world a just and true balance, which, as long as *its* fictitious and pernicious power exists, can never be accomplished. England herself will then become a nation interesting to all others ;—emancipated from a bondage beyond comparison, she will internally possess more physical strength and powers, than she has done for ages. And although she has for the *last century*, in some measure ruled the *destiny of nations*, she will have a noble object in view, that of *ruling justly her own destiny*, and making mortality within her happy ; and while conscious of its real blessings, grateful for the mercy of a benevolent creator : subjects at present almost lost in the remembrance of her local population.

I have stiled this imperfect Pamphlet the *SECOND CRISIS of America*. Should the event I above allude to, take place in our day, and I am inclined to believe that short *lived* men will live to

see it, the present epoch might well be called the **SECOND CRISIS** of the world ; for since the mighty flood which swept from the face of earth its records, never has there been one so important and so eventful as this would be to the children of humanity.

I draw to the conclusion—we are now, thank Heaven, in the enjoyment of peace after an arduous and glorious struggle with a nation that dictates even laws to Europe—all that remains of war is an *insolent barbarian* on the shores of *Africa* who has invited the rod of our resentment. My fellow citizens, will I am convinced, agree with me in one point, if in no other, which those pages contain ; which is, that at this day of general confusion, where all is unsettled and doubtful—and where reason itself proves but speculation ; that the wisest policy is to stand *aloof*—from *foreign influence* or *foreign prejudice* ; pursuing the paternal advice of our **EVER TO BE REVERED WASHINGTON**—“ Friendship with all nations, entangled alliances with none”—and also cherishing such systems of internal policy as will make us what we term ourselves—**INDEPENDENT STATES**—*independent* of all the nations of the earth, when the *day of danger* may render it necessary.

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APPENDIX.



I introduce, without any apology, the following remarks of my fellow citizen, Mr. William J. Duane, of Philadelphia, together with a letter from that great and deeply to be lamented character, Mr. Fulton; who has, by the researches of his penetrating mind, so adorned philosophy, and whose early departure from this world, is a loss to mankind in general.

We recommend those of our readers, who have not yet seen this work of Mr. Duane, to possess themselves of it; it was published in Philadelphia, in letters, in the year 1810, and possesses great merit. Mr. Duane thus speaks of Canals:—

“ Of the peculiar benefits of canals, in preference to roads, much may be said; I shall not, however, be very diffuse on the subject. *Canals* are important to the *farmer* and *landholder*, because they enhance the value of the lands, woods, coals, iron and other mines, to the extent of at least forty miles on each side of the country through which they pass; because they enable the farmer to carry his produce to market, and to return in his boat loaded with goods or manure, at an expense twenty times less than by roads, and because all that is thus saved is actual profit; they are important to him, besides, in case he should want either to drain his lands or to irrigate them; and they also enable him to employ his horses or oxen entirely upon his farm, and not on the road.

Canals are important to the manufacturers, because they enable them to collect and transport the raw materials and fuel that are wanted; to convey the goods manufactured, at so cheap a rate as to admit their selling their productions at a much cheaper price than similar goods could be imported for.

Canals are important to the miner, because they enable him to convey to market such heavy or bulky articles as would not bear the cost of land transportation.

Canals are important to merchants on the sea coast and in the interior, by affording a certain and cheap conveyance for goods or articles imported by the former, and for the produce returned by the latter; but they are still more important by opening a trade between all parts of our immense continent, which must at no distant day, rival, if not entirely supercede a large foreign trade.

Canals in winter may answer, as in Holland and Flanders, all the purposes of the best constructed roads—they are thus used, in those countries, by means of sleighs, as much as they are by means of boats in summer.

Canals, including the towing path, do not occupy more ground than our turnpike roads; a canal forty feet wide and a mile long would occupy but five acres of ground.

An able English writer upon inland navigation, Mr. John Phillips, makes these impressive remarks.—“All canals may be considered as so many roads of a certain kind, on which *one* horse will draw as much as *thirty* horses on ordinary turnpike roads, or on which *one man* alone will transport as much as *three men* and *eighteen horses* usually do on common roads. The public would be great gainers, were they to lay out upon making every mile of canal twenty times as much as they expend upon a mile of turnpike road; but a mile of canal is often made at a less expense than a mile of turnpike. Were we to make the supposition of two states, the one having all its cities, towns and villages upon navigable rivers and canals, having an easy communication with each other; the other possessing the common conveyance of land carriage; and supposing both states to be equal as to soil, climate and industry; commodities and manufactures in the former state might be furnished thirty per cent cheaper than in the latter? or in other words, the first state would be a third richer and more affluent than the other.”

Our own countryman, Mr. Robert Fulton, whose scientific and practical knowledge as an engineer, are only equalled by his patriotic efforts to make it useful to his country, has written largely and ably respecting the superiority of canals.”

MR. FULTON'S COMMUNICATION.

SIR,

BY your letter of the 29th of July, I am happy to find that the attention of congress is directing itself, towards the opening of communications through the United States, by means of roads and canals; and it would give me particular pleasure to aid you with useful information on such works, as I have long been contemplating their importance in many points of view.

But a year has not yet elapsed since I returned to America, and my private concerns have occupied so much of my time, that as yet I have acquired but very little local information on the several canals which have been commenced.

Such information, however, is perhaps at present not the most important branch of the subject, particularly as it can be obtained in a few months at a small expense, whenever the public mind shall be impressed with a sense of the vast advantages of a general system of cheap conveyance.

I hope, indeed, that every intelligent American will in a few years, be fully convinced of the necessity of such works to promote the national wealth and his individual interest. Such conviction must arise from that habit of reflection which accompanies the republican principle, and points out their true interest on subjects of political economy. From such reflections arises their love of agriculture and the useful arts, knowing them to augment the riches and happiness of the nation; hence also their dislike to standing armies and military navies, as being the means of increasing the proportion of non-productive individuals, whose labour is not only lost, but who must be supported out of the produce of the industrious inhabitants, and diminish their enjoyments.

Such right thinking does great honour to our nation, and leads forward to the highest possible state of civilization, by directing the powers of man from useless and destructive occupations, to pursuits which multiply the productions of useful labour, and create abundance.

Though such principles actuate our citizens, they are not yet in every instance, aware of their best interests ; nor can it be expected that they should perceive at once the advantages of those plans of improvement, which are still new in this country. Hence the most useful works have sometimes been opposed ; and we are not without examples of men being elected into the state legislatures for the express purpose of preventing roads, canals, and bridges being constructed. But in such errors of judgment our countrymen have not been singular. When a bill was brought into the British parliament fifty years ago, to establish turnpike roads throughout the kingdom, the inhabitants for forty miles round London petitioned against such roads ; their arguments were, that good roads would enable the farmers of the interior country to bring their produce to the London market cheaper than they who lived nearer the city, and paid higher rent : that the market would be overstocked, the prices diminished and they unable to pay their rent, or obtain a living. The good sense of parliament, however, prevailed ; the roads were made, the population and commerce of London increased, the demand for produce increased, and he who lived nearest to London still had a superior advantage in the market.

In like manner I hope the good sense of our legislature will prevail over the ignorance and prejudice which may still exist against canals. And here an important question occurs, which it may be proper to examine with some attention in this early stage of our public improvements—whether, as a system, we should prefer canals to turnpike roads ? Our habits are in favor of roads ; and few of us have conceived any better method of opening communications to the various parts of states. But in China and Holland, canals are more numerous than roads ; in those countries the inhabitants are accustomed to see all their productions carried either on natural or artificial canals, and they would be as much at a loss to know how we, as a civilized people could do without such means of conveyance, as we are surprised at their perseverance and ingenuity in making them.* England, France, and the principal states of Europe, commenced their improvements with roads, but as the science of

* The royal canal from Canton to Peking, is 825 miles long, its breadth 50 feet, its depth nine feet.

the engineer improved, and civilization advanced, canals were introduced, and England and France are now making every exertion to get the whole of their heavy productions water-borne, for they have become sensible of the vast superiority of canals over roads.

Our system perhaps ought to embrace them both: canals for the long carriage of the whole materials of agriculture and manufactures, and roads for travelling and the more numerous communications of the country. With these two modes in contemplation, when public money is to be expended with a view to the greatest good, we should now consider which object is entitled to our first attention. Shall we begin with canals, which will carry the farmers produce cheap to market, and return him merchandize at reduced prices? Or shall we first make roads to accommodate travellers, and let the produce of our farms, mines and forests, labor under such heavy expenses that they cannot come to market?

To throw some light on this interesting question, I will base my calculations on the Lancaster turnpike road. There the fair experiment has been made to penetrate from Philadelphia to the interior country, and the mode of calculation here given will serve for drawing comparisons on the utility of roads, and canals, for all the great leading communications of America.

From Philadelphia to the Susquehanna at Columbia, is seventy-four miles; that road, if I am rightly informed, cost on an average 6,000 dollars a mile, or 444,000 dollars for the whole. On it, from Columbia to Philadelphia, a barrel of flour, say 200 weight, pays one dollar carriage. A broad wheeled wagon carries 30 barrels or three tons, and pays for turnpike three dollars; thus for each ton carried, the turnpike company receives only one dollar.

I will now suppose a canal to have been cut from Philadelphia to Columbia, and with its windings, to make 100 miles, at 15,000 dollars* a mile, or for the whole 1,500,000 dollars. On such canal, *one man, one boy, and horse*, would convey 25 tons 20 miles a day,† on which the following would be the expenses:

* On averaging the canals of America, 15,000 dollars a mile will be abundantly sufficient to construct them in the best manner, particularly if made on the inclined plane principle, with small boats, each carrying six tons.

† One horse will draw on a canal, from 25 to 50 tons, 20 miles in one day. I have stated the least they ever do, and the highest rate of charges, that no deception may enter into these calculations.

One man,	.	.	.	.	.	dolls.	1	00
One horse,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	00
One boy,	.	.	.	.	.	.		50
Tolls for repairing the canal	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	00

Tolls for passing locks, inclined planes, tunnels and aque-								
ducts,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	00
Interest on the wear of the boat	.	.	.	.	.	.		50

Total, . . . , dolls. 5 00.

This is equal to 20 cents a ton for 20 miles, and no more than one dollar a ton for 100 miles, instead of 10 dollars paid by the road. Consequently for each ton carried from Columbia to Philadelphia on the canal, the company might take a toll of six dollars instead of one, which is now got by the road; and then the flour would arrive at Philadelphia for seven dollars a ton instead of ten, which it now pays. The merchandize would also arrive at Columbia from Philadelphia, for three dollars a ton less than is now paid; which cheap carriage both ways would not only benefit the farmer and merchant, but would draw more commerce on the canal than now moves on the road, and thereby add to the profits of the company.

But to proceed with my calculations, I will suppose, that exactly the same number of tons would move on the canal that are now transported by the road. Again, let it be supposed that at one dollar a ton the turnpike company gains five per cent. per annum on the capital of 444,000 dollars, or 22,200 dollars, consequently 22,200 tons must be carried, which at six dollars a ton to the canal company would have given 133,200 dollars a year, or eight and a half per cent. for their capital of 1,500,000 dollars.

The reason of this vast difference in the expense of carriage by roads or canals, will be obvious to any one who will take the trouble to reflect, that on a road of the best kind four horses, and sometimes five are necessary to transport only three tons. On a canal one horse will draw 25 tons, and thus perform the work of 40 horses; the saving thereof is in the value of horses, their feeding, shoeing, geers, wagons, and attendance. These facts should in-

duce companies to consider well their interest, when contemplating an enterprize of this sort, and what would be their profits, not only in interest for their capital, but the benefit which their lands would receive by the cheap carriage of manure and of their productions.

In considering the profit to accrue to a company from a canal instead of roads, there is another important calculation to be made, and for that purpose I will proceed with the Lancaster turnpike supposing it to extend to Pittsburgh, 320 miles. On which the carriage being at the rate now paid from Columbia to Philadelphia, that is 10 dollars a ton for 74 miles, the ton from Pittsburgh would amount to 42 dollars, at which price a barrel of flour would cost four dollars in carriage, an expense which excludes it from the market. Thus, grain, the most important and abundant production of our interior country, and which should give vigor to our manufactures, is shut up in the districts most favorable to its culture; or to render it portable and convert it into cash, it must be distilled to brutalize and poison society. In like manner, all heavy articles of little monied value, can only move within the narrow limits of 100 miles; but were a canal made the whole distance, and by one or more companies, they might arrange the tolls in the following manner, so as to favor the long carriage of heavy articles.

The expense of man, boy and horse, as before stated, would cost only three dollars to boat one ton of flour 300 miles, this is 30 cents a barrel; suppose then, that the company receive 70 cents a barrel or seven dollars a ton, flour could then come from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia for one dollar a barrel, the sum which is now paid from Columbia; thus the canal company would gain seven dollars a ton by a trade which could never move through a road of equal length. Here we see that on canals the tolls may be so arranged as to draw to them articles of little monied value, and it would be the interest of the company or companies to make such regulations. But on turnpike roads no such accommodation of charges in proportion to distance, can be effected, because of the number of horses which cannot be dispensed with.* Even were the roads made at the public

* In my work on small canals, published in 1796, page 140 there is a table showing a mode of regulating the boats and tonnage in such manner, that a ton may be transported 1300 miles for five dollars: Yet by this method canal companies would gain more toll than by any other means yet practised.

expense, and toll free, still the carriage of one ton for three hundred miles would cost at least thirty-five dollars. But were canals made at the public expense, and no other toll demanded than should be sufficient to keep them in repair, a ton in boating and tolls would only cost three dollars for 300 miles; and for 35 dollars, the sum, which must be paid to carry one ton 300 miles on the best of roads, it could be boated *three thousand five hundred miles*, and draw resources from the centre of this vast continent.

But striking as this comparison is, I will extend it. The merchandize which can bear the expense of carriage on our present roads to Pittsburg, Kentucky, Tennessee, or any other distance pays 100 dollars a ton, could be boated on canals *ten thousand miles for that sum*.

As these calculations are founded on facts which will not be denied by any one acquainted with the advantages of canals, it is the interest of any man of landed property, and particularly of the farmers of the back countries, that canals should be immediately constructed and rendered as numerous as the funds of the nation will permit, and the present population requires; and as inhabitants multiply most toward the interior and must extend westward, still moving more distant from the sea coast and the market for their produce, it is good policy and right that canals should follow them. In 25 years our population will amount to 14 millions; two-thirds of whom will spread over the western countries. Suppose then that 3,500,000 dollars were annually appropriated to canals, such a sum would pay for 300 miles of canals each year, and in 20 years we should have 6000 miles circulating through and penetrating into the interior of the different states; such sums though seemingly large, and such works, though apparently stupendous, are not more than sufficient to keep pace with the rapid increase of our population, to open the market and carry to every district such foreign articles as we, near the coast, enjoy. With this view of the subject, arises a political question of the utmost magnitude to these states—which is—

That as our national debt diminishes, and the treasury increases in surplus revenue, will it not be the best interest of the people to continue the present duties on imports, and expend the products in national improvements?

To illustrate this question, I will state some examples of the rate of duties and the expense of carriage, to prove that by keeping on the duties and making canals with the revenue, goods in a great number of instances will be cheaper to the consumer, than by taking off the duties, and leaving the transport to roads.

FIRST EXAMPLE.

Brown sugar pays in duty, two and a half cents a	
pound, or for 100 pounds,	dol. 2 50
It pays for wagoning 300 miles,	5 00
	<hr/>
Total,	dol. 7 50
	<hr/>

By the canal, it would cost in boating 15 cents for 300 miles; consequently the boating and duty would amount to two dollars sixty-five cents; therefore, by keeping on the duty and making canals, sugar would arrive at the interior, 300 miles, for two dollars thirty-five cents the hundred weight cheaper than if the duties were taken off and the transport left to roads.

SECOND EXAMPLE

One bushel of salt, weighing 56 pounds paid in	
duty,	dol. 0 20
To carry it 300 miles by roads, the expense is	2 50
	<hr/>
Total,	dol. 2 70
	<hr/>

By the canal it would cost for boating 300 miles, seven and a half cents. By keeping on the duties and making the canals, it would arrive to the interior consumer at two dollars thirty-two and a half cents the bushel cheaper than were the duties taken off, and the transport left to roads.

THIRD EXAMPLE.

Molasses pays five cents a gallon duty, this is for

100 lb. - - - - - dolls. 0 75

It pays for wagoning 300 miles, - - - 5 00

Total, dolls. 5 75

By the canal, the carriage would cost 15 cents, and it would arrive at the interior, at four dollars ten cents the hundred weight, or 27 cents a gallon cheaper than were the duties taken off, and the transport left to roads.

Numerous other articles might be stated to show that the real mode of rendering them cheap to the interior consumer, is to keep on the duties and facilitate the carriage with the funds so raised. These, however, may be considered as partial benefits, and not sufficiently general to warrant keeping on the duties. But there is a point of view in which I hope it will appear that the advantages are general, and will be felt throughout every part of the states. It is by reducing the expense of all kinds of carriage, and thus economise to each individual more than he now pays in duty on the foreign articles which he consumes.

FOR EXAMPLE.

Wood, for fuel, is an article of the first necessity: it cannot bear the expense of transport twenty miles on roads; at that distance it is shut out from the market, and the price of fuel is consequently raised the amount of the carriage; were a cord of wood carried twenty miles on roads, it would pay for wagoning at least three dollars; on a canal it would pay twenty cents; thus, on only one cord of wood, there is an economy of two dollars eighty cents; which economy would pay the duty on fourteen pounds of tea, at twenty cents the pound duty;

Or 140 pounds of sugar, at two cents the pound duty;

Or 56 pounds of coffee, at five cents the pound duty;

Or 14 bushels of salt, at twenty cents the bushel duty;

Or 56 gallons of molasses, at five cents the gallon duty.

I will now suppose a city of 50,000 inhabitants, who for their household and other uses, will consume 50 thousand cords a year, on which there would be an economy of 140,000 dollars, a sum in all probability equal to the duties paid by the inhabitants. For the duties divided on the whole of the American people, are but two dollars twenty-eight cents to each individual. Here I have estimated each person to pay two dollars eighty cents, yet this estimate is made on one cord of wood to each inhabitant of a city; were I to calculate the economy on the carriage of building timber, lime, sand, brick, stone, iron, flour, corn, provision and materials of all kinds, which enter or go out of a city, it would be five times this sum; and thus the towns and cities are to be benefitted. The farmer or miller who lives 20 miles from a market, pays at least twenty-two cents to wagon a barrel of flour that distance; by the canal it would cost two cents; the economy would be twenty cents; at 100 miles the economy would be 100 cents, and at 150 miles it would be 150 cents; beyond this distance flour cannot come to market by roads; yet at this distance the economy of 150 cents on the carriage of one barrel of flour would pay the duty on 7 1-2 pounds of tea;

Or 75 pounds of sugar;

Or 30 pounds of coffee;

Or 7 1-2 bushels of salt;

Or 36 gallons of molasses.

Thus it is, that the benefits arising from a good system of canals, are general and mutual. Therefore should peace and the reduction of the national debt, give an overflowing treasury, I hope you, and the majority of Americans, will think with me, that the duties should not be taken off nor diminished; for such an act, instead of relieving the people, would really oppress them, by destroying the means of reducing the expense of transport, and of opening to them a cheap mode of arriving at good markets.

To proceed with these demonstrations, let us look at the rich productions of our interior country :

Wheat, flour, oats, barley, beans, grain, and pulse of all kinds ;
Salt, salted beef, pork and other meats ;*

* Animals are now driven to market 300 or more miles, at a considerable expense and loss of flesh, for two principal reasons : first, the expense of transporting the salt to the interior; and, second, the expense of carrying the salted meats to market.

Hides, tallow, beeswax;
 Cast and forged iron;
 Pot and pearl ashes, tanner's bark;
 Tar, pitch, rosin and turpentine;
 Hemp, flax and wool;
 Plaister of Paris, so necessary to our agriculture;
 Coals and potter's earth, for our manufactures;
 Marble, lime and timber for our buildings.

All these articles are of the first necessity, but few of them can bear the expense of five dollars the hundred weight to be transported 300 miles on roads. Yet on canals they would cost in boating only 15 cents the 100 weight for that distance.

There is another great advantage to individuals and the nation arising from canals, which roads can never give. It is that when a canal runs through a long line of mountainous country, such as the greater part of the interior of America, all the ground below for half a mile or more may be watered and converted into meadow and other profitable culture.

How much these conveniences of irrigation will add to the produce of agriculture and the beauties of nature, I leave to experienced farmers and agricultural societies to calculate.

In Italy and Spain it is the practice to sell water out of the canals, for watering meadows and other lands. In such cases tubes are put into the canal, under the pressure of a certain head of water, and suffered to run a given time for a fixed price; the monies thus gained add much to the emoluments of the canal companies.

But with all these immense advantages which canals give, it may be a question with many individuals, whether they can be constructed in great leading lines, from our sea coast and navigable rivers, to the frontiers of the several states, or pass our mountains and penetrate to the remote parts of our interior country. Should doubts arise on this part of the plan, I beg leave to assure you, that there is no difficulty in carrying canals over our highest mountains, and even where nature has denied us water. For water is always to be found in the valleys, and the canal can be constructed to the foot of the mountain, carrying the water to that situation. Should there be no water on the mountain or its sides, there will be wood or coals; either or both of which can be brought

cheap to the works by means of the canal. Then with steam engines the upper ponds of canal can be filled from the lower levels, and with the engines the boats can on inclined planes be drawn from the lower to the upper canal. For this mode of operating it is necessary to have small boats of six tons each. As the steam engines are to draw up and let down the boats on inclined planes, no water is drawn for the upper level of canal, as when locks are used. Consequently when the upper ponds have been once filled, it is only necessary that the engine should supply leakage and evaporation. There is another mode of supplying the leakage and evaporation of the higher levels: on the tops and sides of mountains there are hollows or ravines, which can be banked at the lower extremity, thus forming a reservoir to catch the rain or melted snow. From such reservoirs the ponds of canal can be replenished in the dry months of summer. This mode of reserving water is in practice in England for canals, and in Spain for irrigation. In this manner I will suppose it necessary to pass a mountain 800 feet high; then four inclined planes each of 200 feet rise, would gain the summit, and four would descend on the other side. Total, eight inclined planes and eight steam engines. Each steam engine of 12 horse power would cost about ten thousand dollars, in all 80,000; each would burn about 12 bushels of coal in 12 hours, or 96 bushels for the eight engines for one day's work.

The coals in such situations may be estimated at 12 cents

a bushel or	.	.	.	dolls. 11	52
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At each engine and inclined plane there must be five men

—total 40 men at one dollar each,	.	.	.	40
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Total,	dolls. 51	52
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For this sum they could pass 500 tons in one day over the eight inclined planes, which for each ton is only 10 cents.

Suppose the mountain to be 20 miles wide, boating for each ton would cost 20 do.

Total,	30 cents.
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a ton, for passing over the mountain, which will be more or less according to circumstances. These calculations being only intended to remove any doubts which may arise on the practicability of passing our mountains—

Having thus in some degree considered the advantages which canals will produce in point of wealth to individuals and the nation, I will now consider their importance to the union and their political consequences.

First, their effect on raising the value of the public lands, and thereby augmenting the revenue.

In all cases where canals pass through the lands of the United States, and open a cheap communication to a good market, such lands will rise in value for twenty miles on each side of the canal. The farmer who will reside twenty miles from the canal can in one day carry a load of produce to its borders. And were the lands 600 miles from one of our sea port towns his barrel of flour, in weight 200 lb. could be carried that distance for 60 cents, the price which is now paid to carry a barrel 50 miles on the Lancaster turnpike. Consequently, as relates to cheapness of carriage, and easy access to market, the new lands which lie 600 miles from the sea ports, would be of equal value with lands of equal fertility which are 50 miles from the sea ports. But not to insist on their being of so great value until population is as great, it is evident that they must rise in value in a three or four fold degree, every lineal mile of canal would accommodate 25,600 acres. The lands sold by the United States in 1806, averaged about two dollars an acre, and certainly every acre accommodated with a canal, would produce six dollars; thus only 20 miles of canal each year, running through national lands, would raise the value of 512,000 acres at least, four dollars an acre, giving 2,048,000 dollars to the treasury, a sum sufficient to make 136 miles of canal. Had an individual such a property, and funds to construct canals to its centre, he certainly would do it for his own interest. The nation has the property, and the nation possesses ample funds for such undertakings.

Second, on their effect in cementing the union, and extending the principles of confederated republican government. Numerous have been the speculations on the duration of our union, and intrigues have been practised to sever the western from the eastern states.

The opinion endeavoured to be inculcated, was, that the inhabitants beyond the mountains were cut off from the market of the Atlantic states; that consequently they had a separate interest, and should use their resources to open a communication to a market of their own; that remote from the seat of government they could not enjoy their portion of advantages arising from the union, and that sooner or later they must separate and govern for themselves. Others by drawing their examples from European governments, and the monarchies which have grown out of the feudal habits of nations of warriors, whose minds were bent to the absolute power of the few, and the servile obedience of the many, have conceived these states of too great an extent to continue united under a republican form of government, and that the time is not distant when they will divide into little kingdoms, retrograding from common sense to ignorance, adopting all the follies and barbarities which are every day practised in the kingdoms and petty states of Europe. But those who have reasoned in this way, have not reflected that men are the creatures of habit, and that their habits as well as their interests may be so combined, as to make it impossible to separate them without falling back into a state of barbarism. Although in ancient times some specks of civilization have been effaced by hordes of uncultivated men, yet it is remarkable that since the invention of printing and general diffusion of knowledge, no nation has retrograded in science or improvements; nor is it reasonable to suppose that the Americans, who have as much, if not more information in general, than any other people, will ever abandon an advantage which they have once gained. England, which at one time was seven petty kingdoms, has by habit long been united into one. Scotland by succession became united to England, and is now bound to her by habit, by turnpike roads, canals and reciprocal interests. In like manner all the counties of England, or departments of France, are bound to each other; and when the United States shall be bound together by canals, by cheap and easy access to market in all directions, by a sense of mutual interest arising from mutual intercourse and mingled commerce, it will be no more possible to split them into independent and separate governments, each lining its frontiers with fortifications and troops, to shackle their own exports and imports to and from the neighboring states; than it is now

possible for the government of England to divide and form again into seven kingdoms.

But it is necessary to bind the states together by the people's interests, one of which is to enable every man to sell the produce of his labour at the best market, and purchase at the cheapest. This accords with the idea of Hume, "that the government of a wise people would be little more than a system of civil police; for the best interest of man is industry, and a free exchange of the produce of his labour for the things which he may require."

On this humane principle, what stronger bonds of union can be invented than those which enable each individual to transport the produce of his industry 1,200 miles for 60 cents the hundred weight? Here then is a certain method of securing the union of the states and of rendering it as lasting as the continent we inhabit.

It is now eleven years that I have had this plan in contemplation for the good of our country. At the conclusion of my work on small canals, there is a letter to Thomas Mifflin, then governor of the state of Pennsylvania, on a system of canals for America. In it I contemplated the time when "*canals should pass through every vale, wind round each hill and bind the whole country together in the bonds of social intercourse* ; and I am now happy to find that through the good management of a wise administration, a period has arrived when an overflowing treasury exhibits abundant resources, and points the mind to works of such immense importance.

Hoping speedily to see them become favorite objects with the whole American people.

I have the honour to be, your most obedient,
ROBERT FULTON.

Washington, December 8th, 1807.

END.



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